

**Ugandan by Birth, Proud by Circumstance:  
A look at Pride and Patriotism in Northern Uganda**

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To those who have supported me in the journey of life

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## **Abstract**

*When the British left after many years of colonization, they left Uganda fragmented and unprepared for the democracy and unity. Each ruler of Uganda has continued to exploit the divisions propagated during colonization, and to this day Uganda remains very divided along political, ethnic, and religious lines. One of the most detrimental effects of this fragmentation has been the war that has been taking place in Northern Uganda for the last twenty-three years. As a result of many circumstances, Northern Uganda remains underdeveloped and generally disconnected from the rest of Uganda. With what seems like a very obvious divide between Northern Uganda and the rest of the country, it has to be wondered if the people wish to be united with a government that has for so long marginalized them; would the people prefer to cling to their Acholi identity or strive to feel proud of their Ugandan identity?*

*This study was conducted by interviewing participants of varying demographics in the Bar-Dege sub division of Gulu Town, Gulu, Uganda. The main focus of the interviews was to determine whether people felt proud to be Ugandan. To gauge levels of pride I compared the levels of pride in being Ugandan to levels of pride found in being Acholi, asking people to describe why or why not they felt proud to be attached to the particular identity. I also asked what would need to happen to increase levels of pride in being Ugandan.*

*Although all participants described themselves as Ugandan, very few claimed to be truly proud of their Ugandan identity. This, however, was not true of their Acholi identity. Participants seemed very proud to be Acholi, citing language culture, and hospitality as just a few reasons that people felt so proud to be Acholi. When it came to being Ugandan, participants expressed that corruption and war, among other things, detracted from an overall sense of national pride. As a way of gaining more pride in their country, participants desired a more accountable and responsible government to bring balanced growth and development to the country.*

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# CHAPTER ONE

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

### **1.1 Introduction:**

According to Maslow, the need to belong is one of the most basic needs of human beings (Kunc 1992). However, one can belong on a number of levels: family, community, school, and many more. So, how important is it for a person to feel included in their nation? In today's politics the concept of the nation-state is very near to becoming the status-quo of sovereign states, but is this the case in Uganda?

Levels of patriotism and pride are both very telling in how a person feels about their sense of national unity. It seems unlikely that a person would feel proud of a nation that the person did not feel included in. But what circumstances make one feel included in a nation? Are those circumstances dependent on governance?

Uganda has been championed by many as a success story of structural adjustment, African democracy, and peace but do all facets of Ugandan society feel equally a part of this success story? This study of the Bar-Dege Division of Gulu Town, Uganda, seeks to look at the levels of pride and patriotism of the residents in a region that seems to be excluded from the peace and development that defines the rest of the country.

It was my original assumption that the people of northern Uganda would feel excluded from “success” story of Uganda. I believed that after twenty-three years of war that the participants would more strongly cling to the Acholi identity than to their Ugandan identity and would hold very strong anti-governmental and anti-Museveni view points. I also thought they would be very free with their criticisms of the government. Finally, I felt that it would be unlikely that people would want to belong to a country that I believed was not benefiting the north.

### **1.2 Scope of Research:**

This study was conducted within the confines of the Bar-Dege Division of Gulu Town. All of the participants either live or work in Bar-Dege, which is located just on the outskirts of Gulu Town center. The participants in this study ranged in age, gender,

profession, and socio-economic status. The participants' professions and socio-economic statuses also led to a variety of languages spoken and the amount of time spent outside of the Gulu district. A larger portion of my research participants spoke mainly Acholi (with a very limited English vocabulary) and had spent little to no time outside of Acholiland (if they had ever left the Gulu region).

### **1.3 Objectives and Justification:**

Uganda is a very diverse country full of culture, or better put full of cultures, languages, and ethnic affiliations. In a place where there are obviously strong ties to one's own culture and language, it is very interesting to see how a government uses that diversity, do they adopt a divide and conquer mentality or do they find ways to blend the diversity into a nation? From what I have experienced in my time in Uganda, it seems that the country is still very fractured. But instead of just assuming that these fractures are based solely on ethnicity this study seeks to understand, what Clifford Geertz discusses as, "the story people tell themselves about themselves" as citizens of Uganda and members of the Acholiland confined within the Gulu District (1973: 443).

As I have done preliminary research for this project, I have found that there has been very little published on the people of Acholiland. There has been much done on the war and on the Lord's Resistance Army, but almost none beyond that. Ron Atkinson and Sverker Finnstrom seem to be the few people who have studied the Acholi outside of the context of victims of the LRA. Even though my research does tie into the bad governance and the LRA, I think it is necessary to look forward and to see the Acholi people as more than victims of the conflict in Northern Uganda. I think it is necessary to begin to understand what they want to see in a post-conflict armed conflict Uganda.

The broad objective of this study was to identify what the Acholi community want to see in a post armed-conflict Uganda in regards to feelings of pride and patriotism tied to a national identity. I was instructed that it would be much better, given the time constraints placed on the study, to ask people if they considered themselves to be Ugandan and what it meant to be Ugandan. Did they feel that they were part of Uganda as a whole. Therefore,

the specific objectives of the study were as follows: to understand what it means to be Ugandan, to see if the participants felt that they were equally included in development in Uganda, what the government owes citizens of Uganda and whether or not they are fulfilling those obligations, whether or not governance is related to feelings of national pride, and if the war has affected participant's feeling of pride and inclusion. Beyond that I also tried to understand the major factors that keep people from feeling included in Uganda and what the participants would do to remedy any inequality that they saw. In other words, if they had the power, how would they create a unified Uganda.

#### **1.4 Methodology:**

In order to compensate for the lack of English spoken by my participants, I used a translator, David Luboyo, who was very familiar with the community in which I did my field work. As the co-founder of the Family Life Support Organization, which works to build strong marriages and family relationships; he is well known and well respected in the community. David helped to select the participants who were willing to talk to me, selecting four women, three men, four female youth, and three male youth. Youth in this case referring to a person between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. Of these interviews, all but three were translated. In the analysis and findings portion of the paper these interviews will be referred to as interviews with community members.

Although I had originally intended to interview residents of Bar-Dege that lived in the nearer to my place of residence, which is populated by people of a seemingly higher socio-economic status and with many small businesses. I ended up conducting my interviews in the neighborhood near St. Jude's children home, because that area is where my advisor and translator lived, and therefore already had connections with people who would be willing to talk to me.

Before I began conducting interviews, I met with my advisor and with Professor Ron Atkinson to discuss my methodology and questions. Professor Atkinson instructed me that for most people, the concept of national unity was too abstract and that it would be better to



ask people if they were Ugandan, and what it meant to be Ugandan. Assuming that my participants would be very proud to be Acholi and have a very solid understanding of what it meant to be Acholi, I decided to ask both about being Acholi and being Ugandan and then compare their responses to see if there were similar levels of pride and commitment to both identities.

When I originally began this study, I did not realize what a sensitive topic matter I was pursuing. It is still hard for me to grasp that people are not as open to freely discussing and criticizing the government. Looking back, I cannot see why I had thought that people would be willing to talk candidly with a researcher whom they had never met. Had I had more time, I think my interviews would have been much more fruitful if I had had time to interact in the community and have some sort of presence there before I began asking them if they felt included in the Ugandan government.

To get a more critical view of the government I found it necessary to conduct interviews with people, who within the paper, will be referred to as professionals. These are people who are all working with an organization in Bar-Dege that works directly with the community members. Most of the views expressed by these people were more controversial and straight forward answers that I had originally expected to get from community members.

To me it seemed obvious that the participants would claim that the government was purposely under-developing the North and that there was obvious favoritism of other regions. Along with expecting participants to claim that there was obvious discrepancies in the treatment of different regions, I expected that they would not consider themselves to be Ugandan and that they would cling to their Acholi identity. I also expected that the fewer connections people had outside of Gulu, whether by language, travel, or friendship, the less that they would feel included in Uganda as a whole.

In fact, most of my interview questions were written with the assumption that people would not feel Ugandan, and during my first interview I was surprised to find that most of my questions were completely irrelevant. I found myself unable to find questions to ask someone who felt Ugandan and felt that all regions in Uganda were treated equally. I believed that I had seen unequal development and I had seen Luwero Triangle, and had heard

stories of how Chairman Mao and other prominent Acholi were treated when they left the north. I assumed that everyone in Acholiland also saw that and would want to talk about it.

Overall, I felt that conducting the interviews that David set-up for me was far more effective than trying to arrange my own interviews with the people that lived near me in Bar-Dege. It was also very helpful that he was so willing to help me, simply because Father Felix asked him to. I think that it was because of his help that people opened up to me as much as they did, although I am still unsure as to how transparent they were. I also think that it was very important to have slightly adjusted my topic and question before beginning interviews. I also think that with the amount of time that was allotted for the research period I did the best that I could to try and diversify the participants that I interviewed. Although the target set for interviews was between thirty and fifty, I find it unlikely that my findings would have been significantly impacted by having a larger research pool.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2. Literature Review:**

Literature Review:

The process of conducting research is in many ways a balancing act, and one of the most important aspects to balance is the previous research that has been done on a topic with the findings that the current research brings to light. Although previous research on the exact topic of study appears to relatively thin, I will work to incorporate different types of study that create a framework for the topic at hand. To understand to what extent there are feelings of unity in Uganda there are three aspects that need to be explored: national unity theory, the history of unity and ethnicity in Uganda, and how Uganda appears to fit into the aforementioned theories.

In a paper on Basque national identity, Davis quotes bring into discussion three levels of national unity. Each type of identity varies in levels of commitment and inclusion on the national scale. First there is a symbolic commitment to the nation, this level of commitment carries with it a very strong collective identity in which there are shared symbols, customs, and values. It also indicates a very strong emotional attachment and people who fit in this category tend identify very strongly with a majority of the nation. In the second level of commitment, normative, is described as a “latent link to the nation that is subordinate to more primary roles” (Druckman as quoted in Davis 1999: 26). In this level people put their commitment to the nation after a seemingly more important role. This connotes that the highest level of commitment and inclusion would be with the primary group as opposed to the national group. The final level of commitment discussed was alienation in which the person did not at all identify with the national identity and member of the nation, therefore, reject the individual (Davis 1999).

It seems unlikely that if someone had a choice that would choose alienation. As mentioned before, it is part of human nature to want to belong, but is it more desirable to

have your highest level of commitment be to the nation of to the primary role. Beyond that, is it possible to have an equal attachment to both identities, or must one always be stronger? When the nation is strong it is believed that there is stronger sense of democracy which enables the population to better deal with conflict and fight against stereotypes. It seems though that these stereotypes are dealt with by removing any attachment to primary groups in a “drive for conformity” which may “destroy the civil, social, and economic right of minorities” (Muelder 1946: 13). Muelder seems to believe that it is impossible to give equal value to both a national and primary identity and that a national identity can only happen if primary groups are marginalized. This means that people must be willing to sacrifice their primary identity in order to attain national unity.

As was the common practice in British protectorates, the British ruled through “Divide and Conquer” politics. In this system tribal and ethnic divisions were exacerbated as a way of making the indigenous populations easier to rule. The same is true in Uganda. From the onset of colonization the British did not treat the Northern and Southern regions of the country equally (See the Roots of Ethnicity 1994). The British government found the Buganda system of governing more structured and centralized and, therefore, more credible.

While those of Southern Uganda were the rulers, the British found that the people of Northern Uganda, specifically the Acholi, fit the 'Myth of the Martial Tribe' (Lecture with Stephen Langole February 2, 2009). Because the Acholi fit into this warrior myth of the British the Acholi were heavily integrated into the military creating and continually reinforcing the stereotype of the Acholi people as vicious warriors (Lecture with Ron Atkinson February 23, 2009). As the British left in 1962, leaving Obote in power, and the Acholi still in military power; they also left the many stereotypes upon which they had built their colonial government.

The current government, which took power from Okello (a northerner) has continued to exploit the North-South conflict and has used memorials like Luwero Triangle to support the claim that the Acholi are a violent people. In a 1996 political flyer trying to garner support for Museveni, there is a picture of skulls and bones, from Luwero Triangle. The captions on the fliers remind citizens that over one million Ugandans lost their lives, and that

Museveni has brought peace, unity, development, and democracy to Uganda. Only ten years after Luwero, many still saw northerners as perpetrators and southerners as victims. The poster was meant to remind people what would happen if they put a northerner back in power. But it did not just serve as a warning of how dangerous a northerner could be in power, but essentially told the North that they were not really a part of Uganda. For the last ten years, there had not been peace in Uganda and there is still much less development in Northern Uganda than elsewhere in the country (See the Roots of Ethnicity 1994). It is very obvious to anyone who has traveled throughout Uganda that the North is very underdeveloped in comparison the rest of the country. Any vehicle that crosses the Nile can feel the differences in the roads.

According to Finnström, youth in the north continually feel as if they are not a part of the development of Uganda and that they are not able to take full advantage of their citizenship, both because of the war and because of the way that the governance has been in northern Uganda, “In their view they are denied many of the most mundane and everyday aspects of citizenship that we in the West take for granted” (2008: 116). The youth that Finnström spoke with did not believe that they had equal access to the country that so many international actors count as the “success story of reconstruction, structural adjustment, and economic liberalisation” (2008: 125).

## CHAPTER THREE

### FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

#### 3.1 What it means to be Ugandan

When the participants in this study were asked if they were Ugandan, most laughed at the question and responded with an adamant 'yes.' This surprised me, because at the outset of the study I had assumed that those living in northern Uganda would not feel included in Uganda as a whole and would therefore be less likely to declare themselves Ugandan. I had originally thought that people would relate to the sentiments inspired by the 1996 election poster. However, it was only Patrick who thought in that way, and questioned what it meant to be Ugandan,

For the last 20 years when we hear people talk, “O Uganda is a peaceful country. Uganda is developing!” And I have been moving around, I lived in western, central, and southern Uganda. When you see all of the things that would make you proud to be Ugandan and when they talk about Uganda as a developing country it is peaceful and yet for over 20 years here in the north the people have not been peaceful. So, it forces me to think that maybe I am not part of Uganda, because if they are talking about being peaceful when we are not peaceful. (Interview, April 24, 2009).

Patrick was the only person that I interviewed who seemed to understand being Ugandan as being something more philosophical than a geographic expression.

As Daniel mentioned, he believes that people see that Uganda is a beautiful place with good people and good weather (Interview, April 22, 2009), and Uganda is all of those things but it seems that the participants in the study have not really analyzed what it means beyond the context of birth into a geographical expression. This understanding of nationality was not what I had expected, but as I think about how I would respond to a question of why I was American my initial answer would most likely be birth and citizenship.

Governance did not at all seem to influence people's feelings of being Ugandan (with

the exception of Patrick), this led me to wonder if there was also a similar passivity to being Acholi. In most cases participants also associated being Acholi with being born there, but when questioned further participants, like Robert, shared stories of Acholi hospitality and discussed how after the deaths of his parents he was given housing by Acholi non-relatives simply because he was Acholi (Interview April 21, 2009). Still others mentioned the hospitality and friendliness of the Acholi (Interviews with Catherine, April 23, 2009, Josephine, April 20, 2009, Geoffrey, April 23, 2009). Along with this, when asked whether they would prefer to identify as Acholi or Ugandan the majority of participants stated that they would prefer to be Acholi.

This leads me to believe that there is some sort of disconnect between the participants in this study and their levels of national pride and patriotism, and is agreement with the is consistent with the nominative level of commitment discussed in the literature review. When asked to talk about their levels of pride, all respondents in one way or another linked their levels of pride in being Uganda to the circumstances in their lives. While Marie said that she is proud to be Ugandan because she is “not missing anything,” (Interview April 21, 2009), others like Robert and Julia cited their lack of pride as coming from the negative circumstances in their lives thus far (Interviews on April 21, 2009 and April 20, 2009 respectively). The next sections of findings seek to dig deeper into the circumstances that detract from pride and patriotism, therefore fragmenting Ugandan society.

### **3.2 Fragmentations**

Although, the original focus of the research was to look mainly at how ethnic divisions hamper ethnic unity, it became apparent that there are many other separations in Ugandan society that keep people from uniting as a nation, none of which were mentioned in any of the literature that I reviewed. The largest of these fragmentations being along political lines. The political divide is so large that Margaret stated that it caused just as many problems as ethnic divisions and that as political tensions grow so do ethnic tensions (Interview, April 21, 2009). In Gulu, the tensions were specifically mentioned pertaining to

the relationship between the mayors, Chairman Mao (the LC-5) and Ochara Walter (the Resident District Commissioner) (Ojara April 21, 2009). While the LC-5 is an elected position, the Resident District Commissioner (RDC) is a position appointed by the president. This leads some to believe that the RDC is more concerned with pleasing President Museveni, than actively working for the betterment of the region (Martin April 16, 2009).

But this political division could also be understood along party lines. In his interview, Patrick told of how before the abolishment of political parties his father had friends coming from around the country to spend time together because they were bound together by being Democrats, but now instead of political parties bringing people together, most people are involved in politics for the sole purpose of advancing themselves. Now that political parties have been reinstated he sees it more as “using the person and then dumping them” (Interview April 24, 2009). This shows that instead of politicians being concerned with bringing Uganda together and working for the common good of the country, politicians are more concerned with themselves and with their own agendas. I think this also says something to an economic uncertainty. If someone has a source of income, especially if it is a hefty government income that person will most likely do everything in their power to keep the economic security and prestige that comes with a lucrative government job.

The other divide that was mentioned only briefly was a divide based on religion. Andrew believes that the British were unwilling to have a Catholic lead the country and that is why Obote was chosen as the first post-independence leader. He also believes that the Democratic Party's association with the Catholic Church has prevented it from becoming a powerful force in the government (Interview April 29, 2009). Although this source of fragmentation was not frequently discussed or emphasized it is interesting to look at because a larger percentage of northerners tend to be Catholic, while people in other parts of the country tend to be born-again (US Department of State). It is also interesting to look world wide at the role that religion has played in identity politics of inclusion and exclusion. It is not, however, divisions alone that create feelings of inclusion and exclusion, but how these divisions are played into people's lived experience and effect levels of pride and patriotism.



### **3.3. Perceived Responsibilities of the Government to Its Citizens**

One of the biggest factors mediating feelings towards the government is what the participants believe the government owes them as citizens of Uganda and what they are actually receiving. As citizens of Uganda, almost all participants believed that the government of Uganda had the responsibility to provide certain services to the people of Uganda. The services most often mentioned were education and security.

Almost all participants in the study who stated that the government owed them something as Ugandans, believed that education was the most important thing that the government should be providing them with. Although the Ugandan government does technically provide Universal Primary Education (UPE), it is not truly universal. With the cost of school uniforms and school supplies, not every child has the financial ability to complete primary school (Interview with Geoffrey April 23, 2009). The fact that many of the people of northern Uganda have been displaced into camps for the past twenty-three years has also added to the problem because most people living in the camps are not self-sufficient, while people in other parts of Uganda have access to wealth and jobs (Interview with Margaret April 21, 2009).

But even if the participants did have the means to complete primary school, they still believed that the government should provide more. It was also believed that they should be entitled to finish secondary school as well (Interview with Robert, April 21, 2009). These claims all seem very legitimate, wouldn't a government want all of its citizens to be as educated as possible? It seems to me that the more that the government invests in the education of its young people, the more successful the future of that country would be. Yet with limited government sponsorship of continued education, most of the community members in the study failed to complete secondary, if they even had the opportunity to begin.

So if the money is not spent on education, where does the budget go? According to Patrick, over half Uganda's national budget is spent on defense and security. Which seems to coincide with another expressed need of citizens, however, the budget is not believed to

actually be used for the defense and security desired. As Patrick sees it, “I know that we need security and it is not only Uganda, but probably the world over that half the budget goes to defense, but in other countries when it goes to defense it is not about corrupting the money. It is about what defense may be in term of their own research and in terms of their own inventions, in terms of their own undertaking which is pro-life and not so much protecting an individual like that.” (Interview with Patrick, April 24, 2009). In fact, although security may be improving in Northern Uganda, some people do not feel that the government is providing enough (Interview with Roger, April 21, 2009). In other cases, people see the return to home from Internally Displaced Person's (IDP) as proof that the Ugandan government is taking accountability for the protection of its citizens.

But when Margaret was asked how the government was helping to facilitate the return home of those in the camps, she mentioned how the Red Cross was helping the IDPs to return home (Interview, April, 21 2009). This leads me to believe that people may have a hard time distinguishing between what the government is providing for them and what is being provided by Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) and the government of Uganda. This leads me to wonder if when people say that the government is providing for them, or if it is the actual Ugandan government or NGOs like Red Cross or World Food Programme who are supplying them with services that should come from the government.

Also, as I have traveled through Uganda, I have seen that different parts of Uganda were obviously not equally developed. While there is only one paved road in Gulu and the road to Kitgum from Gulu is almost impassable, the road in Western and Central Uganda that I have traveled on have been significantly nicer. This made me believe that community members would be very quick to discuss that their area was not equally developed and that resources had not been allocated equally, however, most said that if there was any difference in development it was only because of the war. It was, however, only people who had never left Northern Uganda who felt that the country had been equally developed. Those who had travelled outside of Northern Uganda were very quick to point out that people in government seemed to develop their own regions.

### **3.4 Circumstances that Affect Levels of Pride**

If, when asked, participants expressed a lack of pride in being Ugandan, I would ask them why there was a lack of pride in their nationality, every answer was related to the circumstances in their lives. As Robert put it, “For me, the pride [in being Ugandan] is not there because all along I am living in problems.” (Interview April 21, 2009). He was not the only one who mentioned his pride in relation to his circumstances; Geoffrey stated that, “If the person is being provided for by the government then he feels proud to be Ugandan.” (Interview April 23, 2009). Although all of the answers varied slightly the recurring themes were: the mantle of predecessors, feelings of love, and the catch-22 of military dictatorships. This section of findings seek to understand why these three areas, all related to current governance patterns, either create or detract from feelings of pride and beyond that a sense of being Ugandan. Whether or not participants felt pride about certain issues normally fell along certain demographic lines whether that be gender, age, socio-economic status, or level of education.

As discussed, in the literature review, the British began imposing leaders on Uganda society very early in the colonization process and have continued to do so up to today (Interviews with Andrew April 29, 2009, Daniel April 22, 2009). What is most interesting about this continued involvement of the British government in the post-colonial era is that it was never once mentioned by a community member. This leads me to wonder how aware the local population is of how directly the British government is involved in current politics and if they are unaware it could explain why so many of the community members called for a more active role of the international community in current politics (Interviews with Martin April 16, 2009, Ojara April 21, 2009).

According to Patrick, one of the largest problems in the current government is the problem of decentralization. He discusses the problem using the example of Lacor; with the way that the current education system works, children complete schooling in Lacor, go to Gulu University (if they go to university), come back and work in Lacor. They spend their

whole life in Lacor and never see the rest of the country. Everyone and everything they know is in Lacor. He then compares this with the education system he experienced where children would go to school throughout the country and the bonds that he formed with children from his school. He believes that this has severely limited opportunities for children to socialize throughout the country (April 24, 2009).

Daniel blames not only decentralization on the British, but also the north-south divide, “the British designed it that way and left it that way and I would blame all post-colonial governments who were there before Museveni and did little to address the divide. But it is not as clear for President Museveni not to do anything about it because it is second nature.” (Interview, April 22, 2009). The north-south divide effected original infrastructure and job training in different parts of the country.

The colonial government had its administrative headquarters in the south and groomed southerners for jobs in the civil service, while saving the high labor jobs for the people in the north. The only piece of infrastructure that the British added was the bridge that connected the north and south over the Nile River, and the infrastructure throughout Uganda can be said to still reflect this. For example, the only tarmaced road in Gulu is the one leading from Kampala, and the roads to other major cities in the north are not tarmaced at all (Kitgum road) (Interview with Patrick April 24, 2009).

It was not just colonial leaders, however, who have left their legacy on the current government. Under the Obote II administration, the policy of appointing ten military officials to parliament began. This is seen as negative because they are the only branch of the civil service that is represented in parliament, and the military representatives never vote against the current government because their jobs are completely dependent on compliance with the government. This is seen as automatically giving the government ten votes on every matter (Daniel April 22, 2009). Most people however do not hold Museveni's government responsible for the way that his parliament is constructed. As Daniel said, Obote was a dictator and Museveni cannot be anything different” (Interview April 22, 2009).

The participants who discussed issues that had been passed on from previous regimes

did not seem to put blame on Museveni for the current state of the aforementioned issues, and other even remarked that Museveni had made many positive changes in issues that his predecessors lacked to address. They cited improvements in education and accessibility of resources. As Geoffrey said in his interview, “There are things that I need like salt. I can struggle and go and buy them. They are always there. The government makes those things to be available and for people to access them. There was a time during Amin, those salts they were not there. If they came you would make a long line to buy salt.” (Interview with Geoffrey April 23, 2009). The fact that this government was not the worst that he had lived through had increased his levels of pride, even though he was still not happy with the current system of rule.

It was generally people who were either of an older generation along with participants who had more education who were the ones to mention previous systems of rule governing how the current government carried out its policies. This most likely has to do with the fact that, the older generation has lived through colonization and all of the post-colonial regimes and have experienced the way in which certain aspects of previous rulers have become accepted in the current regime. Those with more education also seemed to be very involved with international politics and understand the way that donor countries can impact on the countries that they monetarily support.

Although the participants seemed to be unhappy with the current position of the government in many areas, they seemed most likely to pass as much of the blame as possible onto previous rulers of the country. And even though these circumstances did still seem to detract from the pride that people felt about being Ugandan, they seemed to be the circumstances that detracted from pride the least because the participants seemed to recognize that often it is much easier to continue with the status quo, especially when there is no real motivation to reverse the circumstances. Participants expressed that the main motivator to change would be love.

The love that participants discussed was used in relation to why the government treated different regions and ethnic groups in certain ways. Marie believes that the government loves the Acholi and that is because of that love that the government supports the

Acholi (Interview, April 21, 2009). Many other participants, however, believed that the love of those in power was directed almost everywhere but towards people in the north. Although some participants directly stated that the government did not love the Acholi, it was more often noted that politicians loved themselves and their regions more than those outside of their immediate area.

Only three participants stated that the government did not love the Acholi. Andrew discussed it as a mutual dislike saying, “At present it is safe to say that the government does not like [the Acholi] and even the Acholi people do not like the government” (Interview, April 29, 2009) and Roger blamed the war on a lack of the government loving the people stating, “because Museveni did not love the people of Acholi, that is why Kony came up” (Interview April 21, 2009). However, if Museveni was imposed on the people in the way that some participants believe that he was, it is not surprising that there is not love for all of the people, because he is always resisting some imaginary opposition. If he was not popularly chosen there is likely to be much disapproval of his regime, keeping him always on the defensive (Interview with Daniel, April 22, 2009). If Museveni is always on the defensive, it is also likely that the other leaders of the regime are also aware of how tenuous their hold on power is. With such a fragile hold on power, it is not surprising that politicians and people who hold positions power cling tightly to the patron-client networks that supply their power.

Just as the military personnel who are represented in parliament would not vote against the government, it is unlikely that those who have been appointed to their positions by the president are unlikely to speak out against him. According to Andrew, “Museveni has been knocking some of his prominent people outside. Once you start saying something against him, he kicks you off.” (Interview April 29, 2009). When your security in life is dependent of the support of the one who appointed you instead of those you are appointed to represent, it becomes far more important to please the former. In pleasing the former, one is only accountable to the one who is appointing, which is why some believe that corruption is so rampant in the Ugandan government.

According to Patrick, politicians in Uganda do not resign, “I have never seen, here in Uganda, someone resigning. You know, resignation is not part of anything to do with Uganda.” He then goes on to discuss the recent scandal with the Global Fund and how shocking it was that people would be so concerned with obtaining absurd amounts of money and were willing to let the people who they were responsible for suffer because of their greed (Interview April 24, 2009). But the people under their responsibility seem to understand why the politicians are corrupt. In one interview, when the electoral commission and the legitimacy of elections was being discussed, Ojara very confidently stated that if he paid my translator enough money then my translator would kill me without a second thought (Interview April 21, 2009). I was shocked that he assumed that for a price, he believed that a man who spends much of his time teaching on the importance of strong marriages and strong family relations would so quickly cave to the powers of money, and if this man was willing to do that for money, it is not surprising that people of a less sound moral character would also be willing to exploit and increase their financial situation whenever possible.

Almost every man asked, can quickly call upon an instance of corruption that they have experienced. For example, Lacor Road, which is the main road near where the research was conducted. There had been money to make the road well, but those in charge of the project chose to use the money for their own ends. Now, most boda boda drivers take side roads because Lacor road is too bumpy and “[the funds] just end up in the hands of those who are supposed to deliver the services” (Interview with Robert April 21, 2009). What was most shocking, though, about the discussion of corruption was that the word was never translated into Acholi. In a casual conversation I had with a friend of mine, I asked if there was an Acholi word for corruption, since I never had heard it translated in my interviews. I was informed that it was only recently that there had been a phrase created to describe corruption in the Acholi language. This is not to suggest that there was never corruption in Acholiland before the introduction of English, but languages do not have words for things that are uncommon.

However, the traditional Acholi system of rule was based on clans and therefore kin

relationships. I think it is generally safe to assume, that these familial bonds made it more likely for people to be concerned about the people they were responsible for, because they were in essence responsible for the well being of their clan mates. Power was also determined based on lineage so who was going to rule was pre-determined and it was less of a power struggle (Finnstrom 2008). But now that politics are supposedly determined through a democratic process, the next obvious question seems to be one about the selection of leaders.

### **3.5 The Catch-22 of 'Democracy'**

Although people may understand why those with the ability choose participate in corruption, will they reject of the idea of giving continued support to those who do not use their power correctly. In other words, would the participants be voting for President Museveni in the 2011 elections? To my surprise there were some participants who were planning on supporting the incumbent in the 2011 election, but not the majority. A lack of electoral support for President Museveni, however, is not a surprising trend in northern Uganda. He has never received more than twenty percent of the northern vote since Uganda began holding elections (Interview with Daniel, April 22, 2009). The questions that followed in relation to election, corruption, military takeover, and the involvement of the international community led to very complex cycle with no obvious break.

Since the question of voting followed the questions about corruption, I then asked participants if they thought the 2011 elections would be fair and if their votes counted. Again, discussions of corruption arose. It seemed to be commonly believed that the electoral commission was bribed to fabricate a favorable outcome for President Museveni. It was also widely believed by participants that Besigye had won the last election. But if Besigye really did win the last election what hope was there to see Museveni removed from power? Most participants admitted that the only way that Museveni would be deposed was through military action, yet participants also recognized that military coups did not produce good governance. But now the problem becomes how to remove an undemocratic man from



power without using a military coup which will inevitably produce another military dictator? The only option suggested: the intervention of the international community.

When this alternative is first mentioned it seems like it could be a very viable option, until one looks at the ways in which the international community has been involved thus far in Ugandan history. Earlier findings discuss at length the ramifications of colonialism that are still very apparent in modern day Uganda and that it is believed by some that every post colonial leader has been imposed on Uganda by the British. If this is the international community, then it has not been at all helpful in setting up good governance in Uganda. The other major contribution of the international community also seems to be viewed quite negatively by the participants of the study.

In 2005 the International Criminal Court (ICC) issued indictments for four of the top LRA commanders. The general consensus among participants is that the ICC is impeding on traditional methods of reconciliation in northern Uganda and that the ICC has completely disregarded the wishes and customs of those affected by the conflict. The indictments were also issued amidst the Juba Peace talks between the LRA and the Ugandan government. Although it will never be known what the outcome of the peace talks would have been without the involvement of the ICC, most participants believe that had the ICC not issued indictments the peace agreement in Juba would have been signed bringing a true peace to northern Uganda.

It also seems that many of the current world power governments support President Museveni. The United States government was said to have supported the UPDF in armed combat in northern Uganda as a way of masking the aid that they were giving to the Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA). The American government would send military supplies that appeared to be going to fight the LRA, but would actually be going to arm the SPLA to fight the Khartoum government (Interview with Daniel, April 22, 2009). The United States government also added the LRA to its terrorist watch list after the September 11, 2001 (Finnstrom 2008).

President Museveni also began supporting multi-party politics as a way of appeasing the international community. President Museveni began supporting multi-party politics only

because, “he wanted to be counted among leaders who embraced multi-party politics, when actually, internally he does not believe it” (Interview with Daniel, April 23, 2009). This makes it seem as if the international community does support the current government. This, in my opinion, is not helped by organizations like Invisible Children who claim to tell about what is really happening in northern Uganda, but in reality are creating a discourse without a history. They tell of these children who have been abducted, which are a terrible atrocity, but do not share with the viewer the very political and very important background of the conflict. What the world sees is Acholis killing other Acholis and the UPDF coming in to save the day. This view robs the LRA of any political legitimacy they may have and the reasons that they went to the bush are never addressed.

Not that going to the bush is the correct way to handle politics; it is very clear to the participants of the study that democracy does not happen in the bush, and the participants seemed to really want democracy. But that brings us back to the catch-22. People want democracy, but they believe that the elections are unfair. If the elections are unfair it seems that the only way to depose a leader they see as undemocratic is to go to the bush, however, they realize that going to the bush will only bring another militaristic dictator. This leaves the only other option deposing the current President to be going to the international community, but it was the international community who put the leader in power in the first place and the international community still seems to support him. And when asked, the participants seemed to have no solution to break out of this cycle. But they did have suggestions as to what they would like to see changed in order create a stronger sense of pride, short of a completely new government.

### **3.6 They Say That Time Changes Things, but You Actually Have to Change Them Yourself**

The title to this section, a quote by Andy Warhol, is very similar to the questions that I asked the participants in the study, “If you had the power, what would you do to make

Ugandans feel like one people. I had originally thought that after living with war for twenty-three years and with what I perceived as very blatant underdevelopment of Northern Uganda and a government that was not really trying to bring improvement that people would not desire to feel included in Uganda. I was very mistaken in that assumption. If participants did feel excluded from the government at all, they seemed to have a very strong desire to be Ugandan and to feel included in what was happening in their country.

Although some participants believed that their tribal identity was more important than a national identity (Interview with Julia, April 20, 2009), others believed that the people of Northern Uganda were craving for national unity. As Daniel said in his interview, “[The Acholi] are fighting for [national unity]. They have been fighting since Amin's time. Obote's first regime was very nice and the second regime they fought for national unity” (Interview April 22, 2009). Almost since Independence, people have desired to come together, though as has been shown, the country has continued to be divided along ethnic, political, and religious lines. The participants of this study, though, did have opinions on how to rectify the chasms between all of the groups and all of the solutions began with the government.

As discussed previously, participants in the study did not support the system of decentralization that was a remnant of colonialism, so one of the first solutions that was called for was a centralization of government. People should be attending schools around the country; local leaders should be responsible for the people, but held accountable by a central government (Interview with Robert, April 21, 2009). Uganda has yet to be truly united by politics, “Uganda is not yet a nation, it is yet a tribal set-up. If it were to be a nation the driving force would be to have everything equal like that and not about the area that you came from.” (Interview with Patrick, April 24, 2009). It is believed that if there was more focus towards the center may be things could be distributed equally from that place, but only if there is truly accountability and responsibility.

Patrick called for political leaders to, “take responsibility and begin the value of being Ugandan. It must start with them...they must move outside of their own tribal domain and

tribal cells, prisons” (Interview, April 24, 2009). If political leaders continue to place more importance on retaining tribal identities, the people will also continue to operate under the mind set, especially the people who are benefiting from the tribalism. But beyond taking responsibly for their mindset, politicians must almost take responsibility for their actions. Like with the example of the Global Fund, if people in power were continually held responsible for properly exercising their power, they would be less likely to continue their corrupt practices (Interview with Patrick, April 24, 2009).

The basis of this accountability and responsibility would need to be trust and transparency. Few participants in the study seemed to feel that they could trust the government. If one is not able to trust those around them there can be no unity (Interview with Robert, April 21, 2009). The trust, however, needs to be not just between the government and the people, but also between all Ugandans. But as Patrick, believe that responsibility began with the government; it also seems that the government should begin to set an example of trust. Which is how Martin would begin correcting the fragmentation: “What I would do if I was president, I would see that there was transparency in politics, then I would see that there was balanced growth and development, and try and fight corruption??” (Interview with Martin, April 16, 2009). If there is transparency with leaders, corruption becomes nearly impossible, because there is much less happening behind closed doors. It also seems that if there were more equal development across the country, people who were living in areas that were less developed would begin to see that they were an integral part of the country.

Unfortunately, as explored in the previous section, people are very skeptical to believe that the current administration had the ability to employ these measures. They seemed to believe that the only way, for national unity to come was through new, young leaders. Leaders, who had not yet fallen quite so deeply into the traps of corruption that the current politicians were entrenched in. Patrick talked about this in reference to the recent American elections, he talked of the promise of the young and seemingly untainted leadership that Barack Obama would hopefully bring to America during his term. He

believed that young leaders like, Norbert Mao, would be able to accomplish things that the incumbent government will never work to change, like building a nation. Not wanting to be tribalistic, he also said that there were leaders like Mao all over the country who had the best interests of Uganda at heart, and until one of those people was given power outside of a patron-client network, there would be no nation in Uganda (Interview, April 24, 2009).

### **3.7 Demographics Analyzed**

When the demographics of the findings were analyzed it was interesting to see the trends that emerged. The results were split most significantly along lines of gender, travel, and age. These splits each represent a significant finding in the findings of this research and although some may have been mentioned in passing, previously, this section seeks to delve into the reasons that participants were split along these lines.

The study showed that women were far less likely than men to speak out against the government and even if they were to discuss corruption they were less likely to link corruption to President Museveni, claiming that he was good, but it was people around him who were misusing their power (Interview with Julia, April 23, 2009). And that was only if they admitted to corruption in the government. Women were far more likely to see the government as benevolent and really working to improve the circumstances of their lives, even if they did not distinguish between the government and non-governmental organizations (Interview with Margaret, April 21, 2009).

To me it was very interesting to see how women responded to criticizing the government. It was almost as if they had given very little critical thought to the questions that were raised. Although they tended to give very firm responses to yes/no questions it seemed very difficult for them to back up their answers, with the most common response to open-ended questions being, "it is difficult to answer." This led me to wonder if the women were unwilling or unable to answer the questions that were presented to them. I find it

highly unlikely that the women I spoke with lack formal reasoning skills.

One explanation that has been mentioned for their lack of direct and concrete answers is that the women may not ask why, simply because if they began asking why when it came to politics that may begin asking why when it came to other areas of their lives. Such as, why they do so much of the work in the home. Which is a very interesting opinion, because what was more surprising was that the women who were least likely to stand up for their opinions were the youngest and most educated of the women that I spoke to. These are the women who in western society would be the most likely to stand firm in what they believe and to make their voices heard, but at the same time most of the young women that I spoke to kneeled when shaking my hand and seemed very tied to traditional, cultural norms.

Another explanation for the silence was that people were afraid to speak to me because I was an outsider. Although I had told every participant in the study that their identities would be kept a secret and that everything they shared would be in confidence it seems highly possible, when people who speak out against the government disappear, that people may be hesitant to come out and talk critically about the government (Interview with Andrew, April 29, 2009). However, it really is more than the fact that they support the government that makes me question their responses, it is much more the fact that they seemed unable to support their claims.

Another split in results could be discussed in terms of travel opportunities. While most of the community members had never left Northern Uganda, the professionals I interviewed had seen not only other parts of Uganda, but other countries and continents. It seemed that the further people got outside of Northern Uganda, the more their discontent seemed to grow. They not only saw the unbalanced development in Uganda, but also the more balanced development of countries like Italy (Interview with Patrick, April 24, 2009). If one has not left Northern Uganda, they have no reason to believe that anyone outside of Northern Uganda is living any different from them. They do not know how many paved roads are in other parts of the country, the levels of education received throughout the country, or the percentage of English speakers in other districts. People who have never left

Northern Uganda are left without anything to compare their lived experience to.

The final demographic split was along the lines of age. This split is really only apparent among the community members, but this could also have to do with the fact that the professionals fell within a very similar age bracket and because of their professions were generally more informed and relied less on their own memories to draw conclusions about what was happening around them.

The most interesting age split was in reference to IDP camps. While older participants claimed that it was the government who had put the people into camps, the younger generation saw the government as liberating people from the camps. While Ojara, recalls being forced into camps by being told that if they did not go they would be seen as rebels (Interview, April 21, 2009); Margaret saw that the government was supplying people with pangas and other supplies necessary to return home (Interview April 21, 2009). To me it seems very likely that both people are telling the truth, Museveni may have forced people into camps twenty-three years ago and now be encouraging a return home.

What was shocking is that no one seemed to accept that the government could do both. They saw the government as either oppressor or liberator. Both of these views have been formed because of a lived experience, it seems likely that Ojara formed an opinion about the government at the time that people were being forced from their homes, and Jackie, too young to recall people being forced out of their homes, only knows what she sees now. This may also be why the younger generation was more likely to view the government as being equal and more unified. For the younger generation has a better memory of the war ending than the war beginning. The government of today also claims to support multi-party politics and goes on Patriotism tours (Interview with Daniel, April 22, 2009). The government of twenty-three years ago sent soldiers to terrorize innocent citizens (Interview with Andrew, April 29, 2009). The different generations seem to have a very contrasting memory of how the government has been involved in the conflict.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### CONCLUSION

#### 4.1 Conclusion:

While the original intent of this study was to define “national unity” and determine its presence and relevance in northern Uganda, the lack of an Acholi word or phrase for national unity made the study impossible with the original methodology. After adapting the study slightly to make it more applicable with the local population the results were intriguing.

It has been stated before that I believe that the participants in the study would adamantly decry the current government and the way that governance has taken place in Uganda for the last twenty-three years, and some did. But even if the participants did disapprove of the government they still championed themselves as Ugandan. I had thought that after twenty-three years of marginalization that the people of northern Uganda would be ready to secede and create their own nation, yet it was not so.

This is not to say that the participants in this study found the government admirable, but they had hope for change. Although being Ugandan is based on little more than an accident of birth, participants desired to feel a pride about their country. The people interviewed saw many reasons to not feel proud about their nation, but they wanted to see a better, more united Uganda.

Participants realized that the country was fragmented along lines that were not just ethnic; people were split over politics and religion as well. But these fragmentations were just the beginning of the problems, because it was upon these fragmentations that these problems were built and exploited. Ethnicity was one of the first fragmentations to be exploited during the colonial era. When the British took power of the country they adopted a system of divide and rule politics where they set regions against one another. They also began the thinking that those in the South with their kingdoms were the administrators, while those in the North were better for labor and military service.

When the British left they did not prepare the country for unity, instead they left a leader of their choosing, unwanted by the majority of Uganda, and with their systems of



decentralization in place. But the British were not the only ones to leave negative sentiments after their rule. Many participants blamed previous rulers for beginning biased and unfair systems of rule during their reign, with the next government simply following the status quo. Although the status quo did detract from pride, the participants were hesitant to place full blame on the government for anything that they saw as a remnant of a previous regime.

What did detract from a sense of pride, however, was the fact that so many of the participants felt that the government did not love the people of Acholi and were not working to make Acholiland a better place. It is because of this lack of love that politicians and people in power are more concerned with keeping their positions of power and using that power to make life better for people closest to them. It is very obvious when one travels through Uganda to see which areas have politicians in areas of power, they have nicer roads and generally a better economy.

The fact that the participants in the study did not feel that the government did not love all regions equally stirred within them a desire to see a new government. Almost no one who I interviewed said that they would be voting for President Museveni in the 2011 elections, yet they also acknowledged that elections in Uganda were never fair. The only solution they saw to get Museveni out of power was for there to be a coup, however, they did not want to see another military man take power because they believed that all military men would be dictators. With no other option, participants called for the assistance of the international community, however, the international community supports Museveni and has yet to do anything for Uganda that is in line with the needs of Ugandans (continued imposition of dictators and the ICC as two examples). This has created a negative cycle in which there seems to be no outlet.

Finally, the demographics of the study can be broken down by gender, age, socio-economic status, and amount of travel. Women interviewed in this study were less likely to criticize the government and give examples for why they held the opinions that they held. Age became a factor in that the way that people viewed themselves as a part of Uganda was based on lived experience, and those who had lived through the previous regimes and forced

migrations into camps were more likely to negatively remember the Museveni regime. Youth on the other hand saw people returning from the camps and credited Museveni with ending the war and making it safe for people to go home. Socio-economic status and amount of travel seemed to go together in that, when people had the money and resources to travel they also had higher levels of education. Any participant who said that the government treated all areas equally had never left northern Uganda. As soon as participants were able to see the way that people lived in different parts of Uganda and beyond, they became much more skeptical of the government.

Overall, the more negative a persons life experience was, the less likely they were to have pride in being Ugandan.

Most of the participants of this study fell into the nominative level of commitment, yet wished to find a balance between loving their culture and their surroundings and also loving Uganda. They seemed to believe that it was possible to have equal pride in being Ugandan and in being Acholi. They saw the importance of sustaining their culture, but also understood the importance of belonging to the nation.

#### **4. Recommendations:**

I would hypothesize that the participants in this study would have lower levels of pride seeing as they have been living in a period of war for the last twenty-three years, however, I think it would be very important to conduct a similar study in other parts of Uganda to see if other Ugandans find it easy to have pride in being Ugandan. It is my assumption that people in northern Uganda feel less proud to be Ugandan than people located in other areas that have been more developed and are more tied into the patron-client networks of the government.

I have spent a lot of time thinking about how the issues brought to light in the research and what could be done to improve peoples level of pride in being Ugandan. When it comes to the involvement of the international community it seems as if at some point it would be necessary to have their involvement. As of right now there seems to be strong international support of Museveni and especially the fight against the LRA. Unfortunately,

the Western world very rarely seems to take into account the wishes of the people on the ground.

The way in which the war in the North is seen by the outside world, the Acholi killing the Acholi, tends to negate any sort of political platform raised by the LRA. So the first step to ending the war, and thereby finally including Northern Uganda in the peace that of the rest of Uganda would be to look at the concerns raised by the LRA and to try and understand why Museveni has never received more than twenty percent of the vote in northern Uganda. The international community should convince Museveni to deal with these issues.

Although it seems that one of the biggest issues is the fact that Museveni has been in power for twenty-three years, so I would recommend that Museveni resign and open the platform for a fair election. However, I have little hope of that ever happening, unless maybe the international community decides that he is actually a dictator and convince him that in true democracies people do not stay in power for over two decades.

If the international community were ever able to actually convince Museveni to step down, they would then need to leave room for the people to decide on the next leader. At most they could oversee the electoral commission to make sure that all votes were registered fairly, but they would need to be completely removed from the campaigning process in which candidates would all be given equal liberty to share their platform.

But as much speculation as can be done as to how governance could be changed, the truth of the matter is that it would require a complete change of heart and motives of almost all of the current players: politicians, government, general population. Even if a new leader were to be elected, it would be very easy for that that person to continue in the trend of dictators who has run the country since independence. The participants in this study seemed to accept that Museveni had just fallen into the pattern created by those who came before him, which mean whoever comes after him is going to have a very steep uphill battle to reverse over forty years of divisive politics.

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Appendix A: Interviews Cited

A.1

Andrew, Educator

Age: 54

Date: April 29, 2009

<p>The majority of the army was Acholi. Now I think he does not like the Acholi, because of the Luwero Triangle. They thought the Acholi killed their people. I remember when his troop took over Kampala there was singing in Luganda that we should follow them up to their home and we should kill them, putting them in papers. When they (UPDF) came here, they came with the idea that they would target the youth. Many were killed. Where I come from, one day there was 19 young people, tied up and they were moving towards Anaka where their camp was. Before crossing a river they took a hoe, from my place, from my home, used for digging like that. And made the people dig their own grave next to the river and killed those people. They just beat their arms with the hoe one by one, then broke their legs one by one all around and then they started crushing the heads all around and they dumped them in the graves. The parents of these people went out to Anaka to find out where their children went, where their sons were. They said they don't know. After three days two men went to catch some fish and they started smelling and they started following the wind and found the graves of these people and they came and they led us to the area and we reported the case. In fact, in several places such atrocities were committed. All the people were arrested and during the night they set the place on fire. (Talking about the atrocities committed by the UPDF the recorder did not pick up all of the stories but they seemed violent and unwarranted) That is why our sons said we cannot be killed like this like during Amin. The Acholi suffered much under Amin. So this time the government was not going to do it, it was better to fight. Gradually it expanded up to now. So actually now at present it is safe to say that the government does not like us and even the Acholi people do not like the government.</p>	<p>*After NRM/A and Luwero, many southerners saw the Acholi as the ones responsible for killing their people</p> <p>*UPDF targeted the youth</p> <p>*Story of UPDF violence (counter-insurgency before their was an insurgency)</p>
<p>They were told if you want to overpower the Acholi you take all of their animals because their strength relies on the number of cattle that they</p>	<p>*People took up arms b/c they remembered the way that the Acholi had been treated by Amin</p> <p>*mutual dislike between gov. and Acholi</p> <p>*the government strategy was to take cows from the people---cows had been used to pay school fees</p>

<p>have so they looted all of our animals. Now the issue of land. So for me I went to Masaka. It is where the DP originated, the first man was a judge. He was elected but the British did not want to leave a Catholic where they had colonized. So they called the Kabaka and Obote to go to London and they made the coalition government. The UPC and the Kabaka joined together and they became the majority and overpowered. That is how Kabaka became president of Uganda. And since then there has been fighting about power sharing. When Obote went to exile, Yoweri Museveni and Obote joined hands to fight the government of Amin, to overpower and they did. And immediately Museveni secretly started recruiting his private army. Eventually he overpowered.</p> <p>The British government did not support a Catholic. So the British government did not want a catholic to be in power because they did not want a catholic to rule the country. I think a struggle has been going on since independence, especially because people used to say that the DP was catholic because the man who founded it was a Catholic. And the Catholics supported the idea because democracy is important to them. So up to now there are still many catholics.</p> <p>Q:From the people I have been talking to, many of them have said that there is national unity and they do support Museveni. Those are all people who must have power. Me: They are just people who live right over here, people who have almost never left Northern Uganda. Do you think that everyone is treated equally, or they just didn't open up to me? A: I think that it is not true, people are not being treated equally, because now we have been in a war for some twenty years and the government did not want people to know that the war was going on here. And when people came from outside he [Museveni] did not want them to come here. This effects. So I think that there was something.</p> <p>Q:Do you think people tell me that they support Museveni because I am an outsider? Or do people really support Museveni A: Of course, I think that it is because you are an outsider. You may get something about the government and put it in papers.</p>	<p>*leaders imposed on Uganda by the british</p> <p>*Also religious divides—British did not want to support a Catholic to run the country</p> <p>*there is not equality *government tried to hide the war from the outside world</p> <p>*people may be hesitant to be honest with me b/c I am an outsider</p> <p>*history of military regimes makes people afraid to criticize the government—people did and still</p>
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Do you think that people are afraid to openly criticize the government?

In fact, they are afraid because with the military government here history really talks. During Amin's time when you said anything wrong, that night you would disappear. So many people disappear secretly. Even under Museveni's government, people happen to disappear secretly. there was a time when they arrested outstanding people in the North and threw them in the river. Yes, it happened.

If you go to the West, you can see the development there is much higher than here. So different.

Q: Do you think there is any chance of that changing under the Museveni Regime?

A: When the Acholi refuse you, they refuse you. So I think that no matter how best he may try he will never change their minds. The situation may cool down, but the inside.

Q: I have also heard many people say that Museveni and the UPDF actively tried to stop the war, do you think that is true?

A: Yea they tried to fight Kony, to overpower Kony for many years and they dropped in different tactics, but I think they failed. The failed at the peace talks.

Q: So you think there is peace in N. Uganda?

A: There is a bit of peace now because any atrocities being done are by thieves or the government soldiers who have this attitude of revenge.

Q: Do you think there any chance that you will have a new president in 2011?

A: It is difficult to know because this man wants to be in power forever. He had a 50 year master plan, but now it has been changed to 100 years. They are afraid to give power to the Northerners again because they are afraid that they will suffer. They had a meeting about how they want to develop the West. They put it in writing.

Q: Do you know someone with a copy? O, you have a copy

A: This could put me into danger. I went one day in the office of someone and I saw it laying out. So I got a photocopy for myself so that I could

do 'disappear'

\*most critical person I have talked to—is some of it conspiracy theory?

\*Acholi will never like Museveni

<p>keep it. This is the sign that I don't believe that the man is about National Unity.</p> <p>Q:Is it dangerous to have a copy this? A:Yes it is very dangerous. It must be within. If the government knew it could be very bad. Many Mps have copies.</p> <p>Do they have it from the government or secretly? They have it secretly. People just pass it to one another.</p> <p>Do you think that people want national unity? Very much. They are fighting for this. They have been fighting since Amin's time. Obote's first regime was very nice and the second regime they fought for national unity.</p> <p>So even though the country has been so fragmented a lot of people would still hope? Museveni has been knocking some of his prominent people outside. Once you start saying something against him he kicks you off. They were with him in the bush and now they have been kicked off. His game is simple. Keep the Bahima strong. So what about the rest of the nation? Are you there for Bahima only or are you here for the rest of the nation? That is the question How would someone bring unity to Uganda? I think what will really give us a leader who has this mentality of National Unity then we can reach.</p> <p>Do you know of any candidates who national unity as their mindset? For me, it is difficult to tell. I think Mao wants to stand as a leader but he is from the north so it will be hard for him. He stood as the guild president at Makerere and the students really liked him. The president even invited him. I went to Oima one time and met one of his colleagues and said my friend you people in the North have a very good leader in Mao. It has been very tough for him so far.</p> <p>Do you think there can be a fair election? The electoral commission can be bribed</p> <p>Q:If he keeps being elected do you think that there will be a strong violent presence to overthrow him?</p>	<p>*people want national unity and have been fighting for it</p> <p>*No one in the government will criticize Museveni b/c he will drop them</p> <p>*need a leader who actually wants national unity</p> <p>*Mao will have a hard time being elected b/c he is from the North</p> <p>*corruption</p> <p>*violence will be needed to get Museveni out of power</p> <p>*a military coup cannot change anything</p> <p>*blames a lot of violence on the UPDF</p>
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A:I think so. I think so.

Q:Do you think it is coming soon?

A:This is a man who took power through war. I do not think that war can make things change.

Political goals of the LRA overshadowed by the atrocities committed. Do you think the LRA has a legitimate political platform in which they are advocating for change?

There are reasons behind it. Now there is actually the government military operation that was killing so many people, now when this rebels formed there group. After the military had attacked the rebels would go to the homes of those Acholi who were favoring Yoweri Museveni and thats how things had been going on. Now the government is accusing Kony of killing when he has done the same thing. There are so many evidence of this thing. **There is a saying in Acholi that when two elephants are fighting the only thing that is going to suffer is the grass, the trees, and the rest. We are the grass and the trees because Kony and Yoweri are fighting, so the people will suffer.**

What do you think of the ICC indictments?

We have written to Kony about reconciliation. Once you have committed a crime in Acholi against another clan and you want to go for reconciliation. Once the peace has already started the begin negotiations and a ceremony for reconciliation is begun and you forget and begin a new life. They call it bending of the spear. Now that the spear is bent we cannot make it straight again to start fighting one another. We should now stop fighting. You go now in peace. I go now in peace. In our traditional way everything should be forgiven and this is what is making things difficult for Kony and making him not sign the peace agreement.

So would you say that the international community is also contributing to the break down of national unity in Uganda?

of course this one is a road block to sign the peace talk. If they were not there or they were saying now you solve the problem according to your traditional ways we are going to accept. I think Kony would have already signed the peace agreement.

\*all of the wars in Uganda's history have affected the North the most

<p>Do you think that most of the people in N. Uganda would actually accept Kony back into the community?</p> <p>Yes. They are willing. In fact, they are tired of war. Most of the war here affected the northerners. Obote's regime effected the north, Amin's regime effected the North, Yoweri and Luweero triangle many lives were lost and now this one here. It is the longest war ever in Uganda. There have been so many lives lost.</p>	
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A.2  
Daniel  
Age: 50  
Date: 22/4  
Director of Research Organization

<p>Before I decided to Record:  To be Ugandan means to be born here, be a citizen or to be naturalized.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Uganda is a beautiful country endowed by god <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-weather is good, people are good</li> <li>-Love Uganda, love to be Ugandan</li> </ul> </li> <li>-Patriotic to a certain extent <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-patriotism premised on the love for one's country</li> <li>-country=land, space, people, governance</li> <li>-Governance demotivates Ugandans from having patriotism <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-governance has not been good</li> </ul> </li> </ul> </li> <li>-Leaders have been imposed on Uganda <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-physical fight for independence—agitation</li> <li>-Colonialists did not prepare unity on purpose <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-British did not allow federal systems</li> <li>-unitary method was that each district with own government <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-uganda became fragmented along those lines</li> </ul> </li> </ul> </li> <li>-Obote not accepted by Central simply because he was northern <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-They thought those without a kingdom are inferior to those with a kingdom</li> </ul> </li> <li>-N. Uganda is the seat of Multi-party politics</li> <li>-Obote criminalized opposition parties</li> <li>-No Love=resistance <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Opposition is an enemy (opposition is LRA)</li> </ul> </li> </ul> <p>Tape Recorder started:  People fought for independence..physical fight. In the case of Uganda there was agitation for independence. And that means that the colonialists did not prepare Uganda around unity and this was supposed to affect Uganda for a long time. The British never allowed federal system of government to operate throughout</p> </li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*birth</li> <li>*Discussing how most people see being Ugandan</li> <li>*corruption</li> <li>*purposely not prepared for unity</li> <li>*imposition of leaders has always caused ethnic tension</li> <li>*violent history</li> <li>*British were opposed to federalism</li> </ul>
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Uganda. It was given where there were no kingdoms, the British used methods where each district has its own government and this fragmented Uganda along those lines. Now as Ugandans were not prepared by the colonialists around unity to manage the post-colonial government the British continued to give a leader to Uganda. That this is your leader, whether you like it or not, the Crown likes him. This is where our problem began. The first independence president or prime minister was Milton Obote, he was not accepted by the Central. The Buganda kingdom did not like Obote on the grounds that he is a Northern. The people who had a kingdom like in Buganda did not want to be led by people who come from no kingdom. They look at people who had no kingdom as inferior to those who had kingdom so they did not accept Obote. During the constitutional making conference in 1961, delegation went from districts and also from kingdoms, they brought the southerners and the northerners around Obote's leadership. The leader of the Buganda delegation, Apollo Kironde, I am not sure whether he is still alive but he was the leader of Buganda delegation. And then a British minister, Lord Carington, went to Apollo Kironde and said we understand you Buganda don't like Obote. But for us, the Crown likes him. We have no way, we have to go with Obote. The result of that was that there was an alliance, a political alliance called Uganda People's Congress, which was Obote's party, allying with the Kabaka, giving Obote leadership on a silver platter because the British wanted it that way. This was the beginning of Uganda's problem which we are still battling with up to today, because Obote was imposed on Uganda because the British liked him so the interest of Uganda seemed not to have mattered to the British. Now that alliance broke in 1966, where Obote overthrew the constitution, dismissed the President who was Kabaka and assumed the position of President and sent the Kabaka into exile. Now, during that time there were opposition political groups. Inside parliament there were 50 members of parliament who belonged to the opposition, they were intimidated and bought to cross over to the government side. All crossed except five. The five that stayed on the straight was only one person came from Western Uganda, the other four were from the North. By the way they spread is indicative of the strength of multi-party, Northern Uganda is the seat of multi-party politics. Now when the five would cross, nor could they be intimidated to cross, Obote criminalized the existence of multi-partyism and these people walked out of parliament with their hands up. That was then, but then he went into exile and the military took over. Now if a leader who is imposed on the citizens, naturally he would not have love for the people. He must always resist an imaginary enemy, every opposition in Uganda is seen as an enemy. Not literally, it is virtually seen as an enemy. Even to the present government opposition and LRA are the same and we find this very strange

Kingdom v. Non-Kingdom bias

\*interest of Uganda never mattered to the British

\*northerners refused to sell out

\*imposed leaders do not have love for the people....always resisting an imaginary enemy

\*opposition parties

<p>because political parties who are in opposition are existing legally. LRA does not exist legally so to equate them is the same, is a problem. LRA should be outlawed. For people to look at opposition who in our books of law as an enemy it is a very big problem for this country. So when Amin went, Obote came back again and went back again into exile. Now this government of President Museveni stood in the 1980 election and the political party known as UPM (Uganda Patriotic Movement), so you can see how fellows are very good at coining names. The name is also supposed to help appeal an idea. So all of the parties participated in the 1980, and President Museveni threatened that if election was rigged he was going into the bush. And is <b>President Museveni was a patriot he would have said, “If the election is rigged I am going to court.”</b> But instead he just went to the bush. While in the bush he purported to be <b>fighting for democracy and that Uganda has never had democracy. As long as you continue to impose leaders on a people there is no democracy, so he had a very strong point. So he succeeded, came out and we still do not have democracy.</b> He started an invention, an experiment of no party. For him his party was no party...everyone is in a movement. He tried to establish what he called a movement, which is for all. He campaigned that political parties were divisive and unprogressive, bankrupt and all these years he has been campaigning in favor of no party which is movement. Now pressure started growing from within and without and by the way, he responds very positively to pressures from bilateral donors. At one time the British told him that it was time to open up political space, let the people who want to engage in active politics be free to do so because in less you do that people will think of always going to the bush. So he opened up political space and by the way, in 2000 a referendum was carried out in this country to decide which political system the country should adopt. The choice was between movement and multi-parties. Now the framing of the referendum was so biased that people had no choice but to choose movement. Now we had 56 districts at that time. Gulu was the only district that voted for immediate return of Multi-party politics and this is on the record of the Electoral commission. The rest of the districts said that political parties will divide us again. This is before pressure was exerted on President Museveni from external. Now the pressure in 2005 was so much, there was no need for us to go for referendum; there was consensus that we had to go multi-party. Not minding the cost we went for another referendum and this time President Museveni was on the “yes” side for immediate return to multi-party politics and Gulu was telling him you have not decided anything new. We decided five years ago. You are following in our footsteps. So we now have multi party politics. Now the question that we have which also effects patriotism is if President Museveni is into multi-party politics because of conviction or by convenience.</p>	<p>should not be seen as an enemy</p> <p>*M. claimed that political parties were divisive and unprogressive</p> <p>*Museveni is multi-party b/c the international community has pressured him to be so.</p>
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<p>I think he is by convenience. He wanted to be counted among leaders who embraced multi-party politics, when actually internally he does not believe in it. Why do I say so? Because the acts, the practices are strongly suggesting so. So all these when you put together it undermines the feeling, the spirit of patriotism. We need to do something about correction defeats in our politics. These corrections are not about to be done soon. Personally, I would do in for a coalition where no one single party is strong alone to form a government. You need to talk to some other parties and then you go together and form a coalition. Then you can form a government. Now in that coalition, there are checks and balances. If a party which is a member of the coalition thinks that things are not moving the way they want, they pull out and then you cannot have the number which will allow you to remain in government. I think this is the way most African governments, including Uganda, should be looking.</p>	<p>He does not actually believe in multi-party</p>
<p>I heard that the FDC, the DP, and some other parties were going to form a coalition for the next election, have you heard that. That is what I heard. They have ever done that before. It is not the first time. That would be a cause of worry for the sitting government.</p>	<p>*coalition would bring unity</p>
<p>Do you think the election would be fair? The next election will be very very very violent. It will be very very violent, because it will be a make or die. That is our fear because all the indicators are there. Right now the President has been touring the country, mobilizing people around economic issues like improvement of household income; he did that for a few years. People are poorer than before he took that trip. Then he embarked on patriotism mobilization. For someone moving around and talking about patriotism, how patriotic is he? I think he has 24 hour access to the population which the opposition is waiting for the day when the electoral commission will say that the campaign can start now and he has been campaigning all these years in office. So the playing field remains un-level.</p>	<p>*next election will be violent</p>
<p>Do you think that unequal development is a problem for people in the North, because the North seems to be less developed than other parts of the country? Well I think even in those developed parts of Uganda, like in Kampala and Mbarara. Patriotism as a feeling is still a problem. You know patriotism can manifest itself in a number of ways: the ways a citizen pays their taxes and contributes to issues of development whether at micro or macro levels, the way citizens treat each other and other people who may not be Ugandan. But what do we see here? We see investors are being favored when they come in, sometimes without even money. They get tax holidays for five</p>	<p>*now doing patriotism mobilization</p>
<p>Do you think that unequal development is a problem for people in the North, because the North seems to be less developed than other parts of the country? Well I think even in those developed parts of Uganda, like in Kampala and Mbarara. Patriotism as a feeling is still a problem. You know patriotism can manifest itself in a number of ways: the ways a citizen pays their taxes and contributes to issues of development whether at micro or macro levels, the way citizens treat each other and other people who may not be Ugandan. But what do we see here? We see investors are being favored when they come in, sometimes without even money. They get tax holidays for five</p>	<p>*investors detract from national unity</p>
<p>Do you think that unequal development is a problem for people in the North, because the North seems to be less developed than other parts of the country? Well I think even in those developed parts of Uganda, like in Kampala and Mbarara. Patriotism as a feeling is still a problem. You know patriotism can manifest itself in a number of ways: the ways a citizen pays their taxes and contributes to issues of development whether at micro or macro levels, the way citizens treat each other and other people who may not be Ugandan. But what do we see here? We see investors are being favored when they come in, sometimes without even money. They get tax holidays for five</p>	<p>*N/S is a colonial remnant</p>

years, now the indigenous who are struggling to make ends meet are over burdened to make ends meets. So now that undermines the experience of patriotism. Now, the North/South divide along development is a historical problem; the British designed it that way and left it that way and I would blame all post-colonial governments who were there before Museveni and did little to address the divide. But the it is not as clear for President Museveni not to do anything about it because it is second nature. It has manifested itself in the voting trend of the North. In 1996 when President Museveni contested election with someone from the center he only got 4% of he vote, which means that 96% of the people liked the other guy. In 2001 Besigye, who is also from Western Uganda, **contested and in the North President Museveni got 14%. Now 2006, Museveni is still in the teens. He has never made 20%, now what does this mean? It means that there is unaddressed that the Northerner wants addressed before they can come to terms with the current government.** If I were President Museveni, I would want to know what are those issues so that I could address it. I think many people think that the people here are being tribalistic, I disagree with that and I do strongly disagree with that. I think the **people here do mature politics.** They have never offered any presidential candidate, Western have been the ones offering presidential candidates. **Now this means that the people here desire a political change they cannot have by ballots.** They are desperate for a political change they cannot have by ballots and that is where the bigger problem is. Another mistake has also happened in our politics that the **military should be seen to be impartial, are entrenched in politics.** There are 10 of them in parliament. Now what we are seeing is the constituencies where these 10 men are coming from are already represented in parliament so it looks like a double representation. If he were to bring in the forces, then police should also be given a slot, but if there are ten of them in the house they are not free to talk independently and they vote with the government and that is already a problem. But it is a **problem that President Museveni picked up from the Obote II administration.** Obote brought ten army men into parliament and left them there and Museveni simply followed. You know when you deal with dictators, they behave alike. President Museveni was cooled by Obote, **Obote was dictator and Museveni cannot be anything different.**

Do you think the next president will have to be a dictator as well? It depends, if Ugandans were allowed to elect their own president, they would rather not elect a dictator. But if the leaders keep being imposed on us as it were, then it looks like we shall not have any choice.

I've also noticed in the research that I have done, that a lot of

\*US used the war to benefit their involvement with Sudan

<p>people's feelings about the government are tied to the government's involvement in the war, what do you think of that?</p> <p>I think this war was used by the government to advance an issue from within the country as well as without the country. The US government used this war in North to reach to the SPLA when they were still in the bush. Most of those men were armed using roads from Kampala an ordinary person on the streets would assume it is coming to fight Kony when it is actually on the way to Sudan. If he wanted to end the war his hands were tied because they wanted to camouflage their support to SPLA. At one time I put it to an embassy staff like that and she frowned and said leave us out, we are not in this. Now when Madeline Albright came to Gulu, she went public and said we are going to to fight side by side with Uganda government. So for President Museveni if this northern conflict was not there he would not be in government, he is seen in the south as the sole person who can contain the conflict. If he is not there the LRA will come to Kampala, so he tell this people if I am not here they will come and kill you again and those people cannot believe it. So he still is seen as having business to do. The LRA would not be a problem without Museveni. If Besigye had won the election they would just come back without any peace agreement.</p>	

A.3

Geoffrey

Age 47

Date 23/4/09

<p>How long have you lived here? over 30 years</p> <p>Before that were you still living in Gulu District? Yea</p> <p>How many years of schooling did you have? I finished p7. During Amin money was not there to finish school.</p> <p>What languages do you speak? Luo and a bit of English</p> <p>Are you Ugandan? Yea</p> <p>Why? Because I am not Kenyan or Tanzanian. I am Ugandan.</p>	<p>*Always lived in Gulu</p> <p>*For those who can remember the more brutal regime of Amin, maybe Museveni seems more ok</p> <p>*Birth only</p>
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Is there anything besides being born here that makes you Ugandan?

It is not there

Does the government owe you anything because you are Ugandan?

The government owes

What does the government owe you?

I have children at home and there is no one to pay them to school. The government should provide assistance for education.

\*Government owes education

So did your children finish primary?

P6, P5, P4, P3. They are not in school anymore.

\*UPE is not universal

Are you Acholi?

I am Acholi.

Why are you Acholi?

I was born an Acholi.

Is there anything more than being born here that makes you Acholi?

That is all that I do.

Are you proud to be a Ugandan?

Yea

Why?

Because there is nothing I can do now to go to another country. I enjoy being in Uganda.

\*No other choice but to be Ugandan.

Why do you enjoy being in Uganda?

Because in order to go to another country you need money and education to support you outside. But now since there is no money and no such education. I am a poor person. I just came from the garden. But if I were to have money, I could have left the country.

Are you proud to be Acholi?

Yes

Why?

I found myself born Acholi and Acholi is a good tribe in Uganda.



<p>Why is Acholi a good tribe? The lifestyle of the Acholi is good.</p> <p>What about it is good? The first good thing is that the Acholi are people who have a high respect for people and they are concerned for one another. If there is development they consider the whole people around not just one person.</p> <p>Do you think that everyone in Uganda cares for one another? There are some who also think the same like the Acholi, but not all.</p> <p>If you could identify yourself as either Ugandan or Acholi which would you choose? I would be Acholi.</p> <p>Why? Because I was born an Acholi and all of my grand grand parents are Acholi so I cannot now change.</p> <p>Do you think that throughout Uganda all of the tribes are treated equally? They are not treated equally. What is the difference? They are not treated equally because for us we are not living a good lifestyle like people in Buganda. It is not just because of the war, even if there was no war our standard of living is still lower.</p> <p>Why do you think that is? From history, whenever the person who is in power comes from your place you are bound to have a better life than other parts of the country.</p> <p>Do you think that all Ugandans should be treated equally? yes.</p> <p>What should be changed so that everyone is equal? Education should be changed such that everyone receives the same education. There the level of education is higher and here it is lower. The level of education should be equal</p>	<p>*Acholi people are again cited as more friendly and more open...pride seems to come from relationships and circumstances and less from necessity</p> <p>*Choose to be Acholi</p> <p>*war makes life hard *lower standard of living</p> <p>*leaders favor own areas</p> <p>*Education needs to be improved to be equal</p>
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<p>Why do you think that people here get a lower education?  Like here when a child studies up to p7, you find that there is no money for parents to pay for education to continue. The child just stops there and even be the child is supposed to go to university and the parents cannot afford. You find that the child is to stop either in p7 or maybe in senior 4. Well even them there they can get the money to continue.</p> <p>Do you think that it is on purpose cannot afford schooling...that the government is doing something to keep the people here from getting education?  I don' think that is on purpose.</p> <p>Do you think that the government is trying to make things more equal?  For me, I don't know but maybe there is something happening in Kampala. But for me I have never reached there so I cannot know.</p> <p>Do you think that it would be easy for you to live in other parts of the country?  It can be easy provided that he has all of the facilities that he needs. If he has the same setting that he has here than it can be easy.</p> <p>Are all Ugandans the same?  They are different.</p> <p>Why are they different?  The difference are some of them are the natural resources. For the people in the West Nile they get their resources from the water like going fishing. While for us here, we have to dig. In the past we used to have cows, but now the cows have been taken. In the center they also have their own way of living. So those differences are there.</p> <p>But when it comes to being Ugandan and feeling proud to be Uganda, do you think everyone feels equally proud to be Ugandan?  The level of pride differs. Those who are feeling ok can be proud, but those who are not feeling ok cannot have that pride.</p>	<p>*government is not purposely lowering education in the North</p> <p>*Has never even been to Kampala</p> <p>*levels of pride based on circumstance</p>
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Do you think a person's level of pride is based completely on their circumstances.  
For me I believe that the level of pride for the country depends on what that person owns. But if there is nothing that he is getting out of the country that can make him proud than definitely he cannot be proud.

Does the government or the country provide the things that would make you proud?  
According to me it is not there. To be proud that I am ugandan depends on how well you are feeling because of what the government is providing. But if you are not feeling ok, then that pride is not there. Even if you are Ugandan it is not there. **If the person is being provided for well by the government than he feels proud to be Ugandan.**

Do your circumstances right now make you proud to be Ugandan?  
Despite my circumstances I still feel proud to live in Uganda

What has given you that pride?  
Even if I have that problem, my pride is because there are things that I need like salt. I can struggle and go and buy them. They are always there. The government makes those things to be available and for people to access them. There was a time during Amin, those salt they were not there. If they came you would make a long line to buy salt.

Of all of the rulers that have been in power since you have been born, who is the best?  
It is difficult because what I know is that even if they appear to be good and do secret things which people do not know. With Museveni somehow he is trying to do it better.

Would you vote for Museveni in 2011?  
I will not vote for him.

Do you know who you would vote for?  
When these people come out to stand I will

\*pride depends on what a person owns

\*things may not be great, but they have been worse

\*will not vote for Museveni  
\*shows a desire for change  
\*the government is not fulfilling its role in N. Uganda

identify from my heart which one to vote for.	
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A.4

Julia

Age 51

<p>Q:How long have you lived in Bar-Dege? A:Over 30 years</p> <p>Q:Where did you live before you moved to Bar-Dege? A:I had a husband who was working in town but when I lost my husband I came to live in Bar-Dege.</p> <p>Q:Do you speak any languages other than Acholi? A:I can speak a little Kiswahili</p> <p>Q:Are you Ugandan? A:Yes.</p> <p>Q:Why are you Ugandan? A:My parents gave birth to me in Uganda</p> <p>Q:Is there more to being Ugandan than simply being born in the country? A:I do not find any pleasure or joy in being Ugandan because most of my life I spent in problems only. When I got married I lost my husband. When I lost my husband this war again came and it has been on for a long time. And the worst part is of recent I have developed problems with the legs. I cannot work. I use crutches for moving. I do not find any joy living in Uganda.</p> <p>Q:Do you think that the government owes you something because you are Ugandan? A:The government might have the good will to do something for them but the agents of these services are always not performing their duties well. There can be this service but this kind of people but when you go to receive it you end up being frustrated you don't get the kind of service that the government might have out of good will intended to deliver to us.</p>	<p>Date: 20-4-2009 Translator: David Luboyo Transcribed: 21-4-2009 Total Duration with Translation: 16:31</p> <p>*Very Common—everyone's answer so far</p> <p>*First not to mention that the government should bring good things to her *Pride is tied to circumstances</p> <p>*Corruption</p>
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Q:When you said you did not feel pleasure from being Ugandan, you mentioned the war. What role do you think the government has played in the war?

A:According to me, the government is good.

Museveni is good. That is why he was able to serve for third term but the only problem is that the people who are handling his good will to give services to the poor people are the one's mishandling whatever resources that they give the poor. Such that like now there is an adult literacy. Even if you are an old woman there is a possibility that you can go and study maybe even if you conceive you can go back and study. This is very good intentions which the government is doing for the people.

Q:Are you Acholi?

A:I am Acholi

Q:Why are you Acholi?

A:That is the clan of my parents.

Q:Is there anything more than being born Acholi that makes you Acholi?

A:I like being Acholi because that is where I was born. I cannot change to be another tribe. Another benefit is that the Acholi are strong people.

Q:If you could only choose Ugandan or Acholi which one would you choose?

A:I would die to be an Acholi

Q:Why?

A:I was born in it and I am used to the lifestyle of being Acholi

Q:Do you think that all of the different tribes are equal in Uganda? The Buganda, Banyankole, Acholi?

A:They are not the same

\*\*\*\*\*I was shocked that an Acholi think that Museveni is overall good! I am pretty sure that she is the first person I have ever heard with this opinion!

\*Stereotypes

\*stereotypes

Q:Why?

A:The difference is that the Buganda and the Banyankole they are intelligent but they are not as strong as the Acholi. They also have small land but they know how to use it. the acholi they have plenty of land and they are very strong.

Q:Does the government treat all tribes equally?

A:The government is treating them equally

Q:So you think that all people feel equally Ugandan?

A:According to me I feel that everyone feels the same that everyone is Ugandan, but here in Acholi it is not allowed to segregate against any tribe. Maybe if someone has come from West Nile or from South. When now someone has lived here for some time you are not supposed to segregate against. You are supposed to treat the person equally as Ugandans.

Q:Is it difficult to be Ugandan if not all Ugandans can speak to one another?

A:It is difficult because you cannot pick what that person is saying.

Q:So do you think that Ugandans would feel more a part of Uganda if everyone spoke the same language?

A:It will not be good if people have to speak the same language because each person belongs to their own tribe and they have their identity. So for a long time there are people who have to maintain who they are.

Q:So do you think that having a tribal identity is more important than having a national identity?

A:It is good to have a national identity as Ugandans. What I meant is being Acholi is more important. We are all Ugandans but to be Acholi is more important.

\*Tribal Identity is more important than National Identity!!!

After I turned off the tape recorder she told David that she had a question for me. She asked what I was going to do with my research and how I was going to help. I told her that I was a student, but that I hoped to come back and that all I could do right now was to share her story and other people's

<p>Q:Why?  A:It is important to call you by your tribe because even if you say we are ugandans but each person feels that I am Acholi. It is important to mention the identity of the tribe.</p> <p>*Acholi Hospitality</p>	<p>stories. I was a little nervous about how that would go over because she is obviously very much in need. She is disabled and has no income. However, she seemed genuinely happy with my response. She was very happy that I wanted to share her story and all she wanted for her and those surrounding her was education.</p>
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A.5

<p>Margaret  Age: 23  Date 21/4</p> <p>How long have you lived here?  2 years</p> <p>Where did you live before?  In Pece</p> <p>Where did you live before that?  We were in Cherry Leno (also in Gulu Town)</p> <p>Have you always lived near Gulutown?  Yes. I was born in Alero village.</p> <p>What languages do you speak?  Luo and English</p> <p>How much schooling did you complete  Senior Three</p> <p>How old are you?  Twenty-three now</p>	<p>*Has never left Gulu</p>
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<p>Do you plan yo continue your education? No there is no money</p> <p>Do you have a job? No</p> <p>Are you Ugandan? Yes</p> <p>Why? Because my nationality. I am just Ugandan now.</p> <p>How did you become Ugandan? Just because of my mom and also my dad they are Ugandans.</p> <p>So is it because you were born here? Yea</p> <p>Is there anything else that makes you Ugandan? No, nothing</p> <p>Are you Acholi? I am Acholi</p> <p>Why are you Acholi? That's God's made. God has made me to be an Acholi</p> <p>So is it because you were born here? Yea.</p> <p>Is there anything else that makes you feel Acholi? There is I feel an Acholi because of this black skin of mine. And because I am Acholi born in Alero village not in other districts. Alero is even made of this Acholi not in other districts</p> <p>IF you could be Ugandan or Acholi which would you pick? I pick just to be an Acholi.</p> <p>Why? In fact, I should have picked both because I'm Acholi by nationality and even I am Ugandan now. Ugandan people.</p> <p>But if you could only be one, which would you</p>	<p>*Ugandan by birth</p> <p>*God made her Acholi</p> <p>*would choose to be Acholi</p>
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<p>be? Acholi</p> <p>Why? No, let me pick Ugandan</p> <p>Why are you Ugandan? Because I am born in Uganda</p> <p>But, you are also born in Acholi? No, it can't even be like that.</p> <p>It can't be like that? It can't be like that because I am born in Uganda.</p> <p>Is it more important to be Ugandan or more important to be Acholi? To be an Acholi.</p> <p>Why? It's just because I like to be Acholi.</p> <p>Why do you like to be Acholi? Maybe these Acholi people they are even strong.</p> <p>Are the Ugandans not strong? Some of them are not strong, these Acholi people are so strong.</p> <p>Do you think that the government treats all of the different peoples equally? They are all equal.</p> <p>So the government treats them all the same? Maybe they don't take them equally b/c these Acholi people have been facing so many things like war in N. Uganda here now. Whereby they cant even take them to be equal because those Western and the rest they have jobs and money. They are not so much here like they have there. Because here, people were running this war. Whereby they were being displaced.</p> <p>What part does the government have in the war? To provide those their foods. To give people food. For example, those of Red Cross they are providing clothes, jerry cans, those needs.</p>	<p>*changed to Uganda</p> <p>*more important to be Acholi</p> <p>*war has created in inequality *those in the west have jobs and money *displacement</p> <p>*connects NGOs to government</p>
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Has Museveni done anything to help?  
In fact maybe I don't know but he did it.

Do you support Museveni?  
I support him.

Will you vote for him 2011?  
Yea. Because I still don't have my card.

Are you going to get your card?  
I'll just get him and then vote for them.

Why?  
Because he did a lot now for people. For example, we youths we are getting these needs from him. And he even he helps those refugees. He was helping even them whereby we like him for what he did.

So you like him because he is helping the people in the camps?  
Yea

But didn't he put the people in the camps?  
No

Why are people in camps?  
Because of war

So Museveni didn't do anything to get the people in camps?  
He didn't

Do you think that the government is trying to make the Acholi feel Ugandan?  
He is just trying, eh, to stop this war and to make peace.

Is there peace here now?  
There is a final peace now.

What is final peace?  
People are going back to their original homelands

Do you think that the war is over.  
As am I am seeing by now if it is not over, but those bad things it was happening those days it has been stopped by now.

\*would vote for Museveni again

\*helps refugees? Younger people seem to be giving a lot of credit to Museveni about helping IDPs without mentioning that it is b/c of him that the people are there

<p>Did the government stop it? Yea</p> <p>Are you proud to be Ugandan? Yea</p> <p>Why? Because I liked it...I don't know</p> <p>Are you proud to be Acholi? Yes</p> <p>Why? I am proud to be an Acholi because no where even I can go. I am born here, nowhere to go. Nothing to be changed.</p> <p>Do you think that it would be easy for you to live in other parts of the country. It would be easy even.</p> <p>Why? Because, for example. When I go there then seeing that I am Acholi. Because they knew here in Acholi there was war, leave this Acholi girl to go and enjoy even out there.</p> <p>So you could live in Mbara and you would be ok? Yea</p> <p>The people there would accept you as Ugandan? No, they would not disturb me.</p> <p>Do you think that many Ugandans value tribe over being Ugandan? They will be proud to be even an Acholi because some people like Acholi and they wish to be Acholi instead of their tribes.</p> <p>Why? If they came here they would find the weather it would be fine to them, whereby they even could live.</p> <p>Do you think that the government trying to make everyone feel more unified? I don't know</p>	<p>*Government ended the war</p> <p>*cannot change being Acholi or Ugandan so it must be accepted</p>
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Do you think the government should help people feel proud to be Ugandan.

Maybe they are trying to make people be proud to be Ugandan. Let me just say that it seems to make people be equal.

You think that everyone in Uganda is equal?  
They are not equal. Because other country, other district. If you go there some will just start to discriminate you. Maybe this is an Acholi and this is not an Acholi. Because those people discriminate people against their color. Whereby they just say this is not Acholi. There was this girl when I went to Kampala. She said, "For you, you are Kony." She was telling me I was Kony. I was telling her I was not Kony. For her she discriminate me.

Have you had other experiences like that when you have left Gulu  
Just only Kampala.

Have you been to other places besides Kampala?  
No

Do you like going to Kampala.  
Yea I went several times now.

Why do you think that the woman called you Kony?  
Whatever you did even a single mistake, they say oh you act like Kony. Then I told her even there is no Kony whereby you cannot even see him. He is now in the bush. Even if you do a slight mistake like for me I was having a baby and the baby was very stubborn. The baby would just go inside then destroy something. Then even he throw parafin down there. That girl came to me and said to me you people you act like Kony. Then I said what brought into your mind to say that stupid thing. Even me I never saw him, why are you calling me to be Kony?

Why do you think that people in Kampala think of all people are all like Kony?  
Because we people here are having war and that I was Kony

\*One of the few people I talked to who has left Acholiland and talks about discrimination based on being Acholi

\*has never been anywhere but Kampala

Do you think that the government should do something to change their impression of the North?

I don't know anything, but I think the government  
Let me just say that I first thank the government because they are stopping this war. They did a lot for the people here in N. Uganda. the government should now, there is nothing I know. The government should say that the people of N. Uganda are Kony. Not all were actors and actresses. Kony is in the bush. Some these Acholi they didn't saw him.

How would you know that the people of Uganda felt proud to be Ugandan?

Because it is 'For God and My Country'

So you are all united for God and your country  
For God and My Country

Have you ever thought that N. Uganda should be its own country?

No.

\*She seems so happy that the war is over that she is not concerned about post conflict problem

A.6

Martin

Age 20

Date 16/4

What is National Unity?

According to me, national unity is just a situation of peace and togetherness of the nationals in a country

What do you think Ugandan National Unity is like?

Do you think Uganda has national unity?

I think national unity in Uganda is to me is not to the expected level.

Why?

Because for me there are many factors interfering with national unity in Uganda.

What are those factors?

One of these factors is the war in northern Uganda.

Do you think that a lack of unity is the cause of the war in n. Uganda?

\*Lack of unity is a factor in the war

<p>yes.</p> <p>How so? Another thing is unequal growth and development in the country.</p> <p>So what do you mean by that? What I mean by that is there are some areas in Uganda that are more developed than others. Like in terms of infrastructure like roads, railways, airports, and such.</p> <p>If you were president of Uganda how would you improve national unity? What I would do if I was the president. I would see that there was transparency in politics then I would see that there was balanced growth and development and try to fight corruption.</p> <p>Do you think that ethnicity has anything to do with the lack of national unity? I am not very sure</p> <p>Do you think that the lack of a national language is a problem? Yea, that is also a problem it is a barrier that people find hard to understand other tribes.</p> <p>Have you ever found that people have certain reactions to you because you are Acholi? Yea, I have experienced that.</p> <p>In what ways? One of the ways was in school. I was not treated fair as other students.</p> <p>By teachers or by other students? By teachers.</p> <p>Could you give me an example? I think I have to give you two examples. There was a time I had a cut on my toe and I was not wearing my shoes properly, so, my teachers came and removed my shoes but there were also students who were not wearing socks so their shoes were also confiscated. But mine was not returned.</p> <p>So they stole your shoes?</p>	<p>*unequal development</p> <p>*unequal infrastructure</p> <p>*transparency to fight corruption</p>
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<p>Yea, they never return my shoes</p> <p>Because you were Acholi? I think so.</p> <p>Then there was also a time when our examinations supervisor was giving us our examination cards, then, he was reading our names one by one at a time. Then he called me and then he said if I am to remove the first two letters of my name how will I call myself. So I was feeling pissed. I just walk out of the class.</p> <p>How did you interact with the students? It was also somehow common that make fun of your name like when you are not around. Or maybe when you are there but if you do not understand their language. Like this guy is from Northern Uganda. He is crazy like those ones. So they isolate you and they tend to not like being your friend.</p> <p>Because you are Acholi? Not only Acholi. But as long as you come from Northern Uganda. Because they know it is not only Acholi in Northern Uganda.</p> <p>What parts of Uganda are North? Lira, Gulu, Amuru, Kitgum, Pader. Those areas. Those areas of Lira are not very common</p> <p>Do you know what the government is doing to enhance National Unity? I think the government is doing nothing.</p> <p>In something I read there was the government's policy that there could be unity through diversity, as in, accepting all of the ethnic groups keeping their ethnic identity and coming together for national unity...Do you think that is possible retain ethnic identity and have national unity? I think it can be possible. But I am not very sure</p> <p>Do you have any ideas as to how that could happen? At the moment I don't have any idea.</p> <p>What do you think of Thematic Curriculum and how it teachers vernacular languages as well as English? Do you think that that's a good way to do it?</p>	<p>*Use of language to segregate</p> <p>*Southerners are very biased against all northerners</p> <p>*government is not doing anything to advance national unity</p> <p>*Are national unity and regional/ethnic pride mutually exclusive?</p> <p>*Keeping traditional culture is important</p>
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<p>I think it could be good because as a student or a child starts growing he starts with his own language then after he goes to school and starts learning English. So that duration of childhood and entering school is very little for a child to learn his own language and get acquainted with it so he has more of a chance of knowing his background and traditional culture. I think it is more important to give him more chance.</p> <p>Is it more important than having national unity? It is not more important than having national unity. But I think it helps to create national unity also.</p> <p>So is you could only be Acholi or Ugandan which would you say you are? I think I am more Acholi than a Ugandan.</p> <p>Why? I think there are many small reasons about it.</p> <p>Can you tell me any? First of all, I have..I think because of the government system of rule. That makes me not love my country.</p> <p>What is it about the government's system of rule that makes you not love your country? One main one is about the war in our area. I think the government has not done enough.</p> <p>Do you think the government wants to end the war? The government wants to end the war but he has very little interest in ending the war.</p> <p>Why does he have little interest in ending the war? Because I think that goes back to the leadership problem in Uganda. Because of I think corruption such that leaders in Uganda are always from the same area.</p> <p>Is that why you don't support Bessigye? Because he is Banyankole? No, I don't support a military man to lead my country.</p> <p>So if you don't support a military man to lead the country...Do you think there is a way besides the military to get Museveni out of power?</p>	<p>*Traditional culture is more important than national unity</p> <p>*more acholi than Ugandan</p> <p>*governance detracts from love of country</p> <p>*corruption—leaders are all from the same area</p> <p>*intervention of international</p>
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<p>I think that is a tough question because there are various ways but we have to try them out. I think we have failed in some ways to get him out of power?</p> <p>Which ways have failed? We have failed through election.</p> <p>So if you can't elect him out of power and you don't want a military man to lead the country which would probably be the outcome if a military coup took place...What would you do to get Museveni out of power? How do you suggest getting Museveni out of power or is that necessary? I think the best solution can be the role of the international organizations. Who have to act?</p> <p>International organizations have to get Museveni out of power? Yea.</p> <p>Do you think there can be national unity while Museveni is in power? If Museveni is in power I think there can be no national unity. Because he has to support his allies and its a must for him.</p> <p>His allies? Yea.</p> <p>What do you mean when you say allies? Those who help him to take power.</p> <p>Are they all from one ethnic group or are they all from many ethnic groups? Like an example could be like in Gulu here...because Ochara Walter is his ally.</p> <p>Who is Ochara Walter? Our RDC</p> <p>Is he Acholi? He is an Acholi. But he was the LC-5 before Mao came. So he also stood for the LC-5 chairman position. But he was voted out so Mao came in as the LC-5 and Museveni again appointed him as the RDC. I think there was some reason for that.</p>	<p>community is needed to get Museveni out of power</p> <p>*Patron-Client networks</p>
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Is the RDC part of the NRM?

Yea. He is the presidential representative in the district

Was he in the UPDF

Yea. He was in the UPDF.

Does Museveni have many allies who are Acholi?

No. There are very few. But I think he is using the Acholi to help him conquer the Northern region.

How so?

Like what I have just said, after Ochara failed to become the LC-5 [Museveni] appointed [Ochara] to become the RDC so that there is a barrier for other leaders to attack him directly.

Do you think it is necessary to have national unity?

It is very necessary.

For what?

Because it brings peace. Which is more important

So without a national unity there will be no peace?

Yea.

So what you have said is that National unity means peace?

No I have not said national unity means peace. I said that National Unity leads to peace.

National Unity leads to peace? What then does national unity mean?

National Unity means a situation of peace. But is not exactly the peace.

So a situation where there can be peace?

Yes if there is peace that means that there is national unity.

So what components make up national unity?

Components that make up national unity...is when the people are free to live together without any conflict or hatred among them.

Do you think it is possible to have a society without hatred or conflict?

It is very possible.

<p>Do you know of any societies that live without hatred or conflict? I think I need to think awhile.....But there is no society in Africa living without peace or conflict</p> <p>Is it just in Africa that societies don't have peace? Yea.</p> <p>You think that other countries outside of Africa have peace? There are some with peace.</p> <p>Like what? I think Switzerland.</p> <p>Why do you think that Switzerland has peace? Because they have never had war in their country.</p> <p>Do you think that war is the only sign of their not being peace? I think war is not a friend to peace.</p> <p>Well right now there is no active war in N. Uganda, does that mean that there is peace here? No.</p> <p>How is there war? To me war is not the fire of guns or the end of war does not mean the stopping of the firing of guns. I think war is hatred among the people</p> <p>What hatred is there here in N. Uganda? Just as I have said before, there is tribalism in Uganda. there is too much. That is war.</p> <p>What hatred is here in Gulu that is making the war or do you think the war is more to do with other things than just hatred? Hatred in Gulu. Hatred among the politicians and between the government leaders.</p> <p>So between Mao and the RDC? Yea.</p> <p>Do you think represents anything? Yea.</p> <p>What does it represent?</p>	<p>*hatred=war</p> <p>tribalism=war</p> <p>*division between politicians makes unity impossible</p>
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It shows that there is a war.

Do you think there is a possibility of peace in N. Uganda?

There could be after a very long time.

What would need to happen first?

Because according to me war only ends after those who were involved have already died.

So does that mean that everyone in LRA has to die before there can be peace?

Yea.

Do you think that it is just the LRA that represents that hatred?

No.

So even if everyone in the LRA dies will there be peace?

Not only the LRA...all of those involved in the war. I have been involved in the war.

How are you involved in the war?

In many ways. I have been a civilian casualty

What do mean by that?

It has effected me in some way, maybe not directly but my relatives were involved in the war. Some died. So I have been involved in the war.

What do you think the prospects are for Uganda?

What do you think that the future of Uganda looks like?

I think that the situation is now cooling down a bit but I am not very sure, but I think in 20 years to come there is going to be another war.

Do you think that Uganda's future is going to be constant war or do you think there is a chance for peace in Uganda? A chance to get rid of the hatred?

Yea there could be a chance, but I think after a very long time.

In order for the hatred to go away, what do you think needs to happen?

What has to be done? I think all those who have been involved in the war are supposed to come

\*different sides need to come together

\*it always seems to come back to the international community

<p>together and accept what wrong they have done and apologize. Then we can come to the road to peace.</p> <p>Do you think that without the involvement or without the ICC involvement that the Juba Peace talks would have brought peace? I think peace would have been brought if the ICC would have not been involved</p> <p>So you think the Juba peace talks would have been successful? Yea</p> <p>If the way that peace will come is through coming together and apologizing do you think there is any chance of peace with the ICC indictments? No.</p> <p>SO without peace in N. Uganda will there ever be national unity? There will be no national unity.</p> <p>Do you have anything else you would like to add that I did not ask about? I think for a country to have a national unity like in Uganda here, I think international organizations like the ICC should have a stronger capacity than they have at the moment. To control our governments so that they can enforce some rules against our government.</p> <p>What kind of rules should be enforced against the government? Like according to this war in N. Uganda they should have forced our government to do something on this war because the gov. was not willing to have the peace talks with the LRA rebels.</p> <p>The government wasn't willing to have peace talks? yea. because they interfered with the first peace talk and it was that peace that I think has removed the trust from the rebels.</p> <p>The failed Juba peace talks removed trust? Yea. so to build the trust needs a lot of transparency which the gov. was not able to give.</p> <p>Do you think this government will ever be</p>	<p>*government is not trusted by the rebels</p> <p>*transparency in government is needed</p> <p>*Support of the government makes one more ugandan</p> <p>*favoritism</p> <p>*those who are treated better by the government feel more included in Uganda</p>
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transparent?

The Gov't will not b/c it is a military government

Do you for see a time when you would say you were Ugandan before you said you were Acholi?

No.

Do you know many Acholi who would say that they are Ugandan before saying they were Acholi?

No.

What about Banyankole?

they are ugandans

Why?

Because they support the government.

So if you support the government you are Ugandan?

Yea.

Do you think that everyone from the South supports the government?

No

Do you think most southerners support the government?

Most of them supports the government

Why do you think they support the government?

Yea because I think the government favors them more than other parts of the country

What about the Banyankole?

They are the people who comes from the President's ok. the president comes from their area. so I think that they have to support the government and the government is for them.

What about the people in Karamajong? What do you think they think about the government?

I think the Karamajong they have their own problems but the government is not caring about them.

But the government just appointed a minister to Karamajong affairs.

No. He has just appointed her.

Do you think that it means anything?

<p>I think he is trying to look for votes for the coming election, because he has seen that this part of N. Uganda he has very little support and he has tried all means to gain support but he has failed. So he wants to gain support from the Karamajong who are ignorant.</p> <p>Is there anything Museveni could do to gain support of people in the North? I think the wound that he has already created in N. Uganda he does not have the capacity to heal it now so he cannot gain any support</p> <p>Do you know any people in the North who support Museveni? Yea. I know a few of them.</p> <p>Why do they support him? Do you know? Those who support Museveni? One is the LC-3 Chairman for Liebe division...Odong Walter, Ocara Robert, our army commander, then most of them are in the army Do you know anyone outside of the army who supports Museveni? Who is in N. Uganda? (long pause) I think I have given the ones I know.</p> <p>If you could summarize national unity and its necessity in N. Uganda in one sentence what would it be? I think National Unity will help very much in N. Uganda such that it will improve on the lifestyle of the people through growth and development which is lacking in the region.</p>	
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A.7

<p>Ojara Age 73</p> <p>What is your profession? Carpentry</p> <p>How long have you lived in Bar-Dege? I was born here.</p> <p>So you have lived here your whole life?</p>	<p>Date: 21/4/2009 Translator: David Luboyo Transcribed 24/42009 Length with Translation Time Location: Outside his home</p>
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<p>Yes</p> <p>What languages do you speak Luo, Kiswahili, and a bit of English</p> <p>Are you Ugandan? Yes I am Ugandan</p> <p>Why? Because I was born me here.</p> <p>Is there anything besides being born here that makes you Ugandan? Beside being a Ugandan I am from the clan Pyera and Pyera is in Uganda.</p> <p>Are you Acholi? Because the Lord has born me from Acholi here.</p> <p>Is there anything besides being born Acholi that makes you Acholi? So because of birth.</p> <p>Does your culture make you Acholi? The culture of the Acholi of pyera. Pyera is a clan in Acholi</p> <p>What does it mean to be Pyera? Pyera is a tribe. Pyera is Pyera. Pateo is Pateo. Also and so forth. They are the different groups of clans within Acholi</p> <p>So if you could identify yourself as Acholi, Pyera, or Ugandan which would you choose? I prefer to be called an Acholi</p> <p>Why? The why is not there now because I am Acholi by birth</p> <p>You are also Ugandan by birth so why do you choose Acholi? Because that is how God gave me an Acholi</p> <p>Does the Ugandan government owe you anything because you are Ugandan? Now as I am weak the government should</p>	<p>*Lived in Bar-Dege his whole life</p> <p>*Ugandan by birth *defined by being Acholi and his clan w/i Acholi</p> <p>* would Identify as Acholi</p> <p>*Acholi by birth</p> <p>*government should provide housing</p>
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put up a good structure for him to live in

Do you think that the government sees all of the different tribes equally?

For me the government thinks the Acholi are useless because of what they are doing to the Acholi

What is the government doing to the Acholi?

Like now there are people who come to abduct small children and they kill for witchcraft and it is worse in Kitgum and it seems to be nothing the government is doing about it.

So do you think that the efforts of the UPDF are not good?

They have not been up to expectations. Even the police what they are doing is not good. They arrest somebody a criminal they just leave the person to go back into the community again doing the bad things.

What should the government do to stop the abductions?

They should be arrested and be put in jail.

Do you agree with the amnesty act? Do you think they should have amnesty?

The amnesty is good it will allow of these people to come from the bush home, but if they are arrested or killed it will send fear to those who are in the bush.

How many children do you have?

Now I am left with only two. Originally I had given birth to ten. So eight have died and now there are two.

How many years of school did your children go to?

All of my children have studied the job that I am doing. They are carpenters.

So you have two sons?

Yes I have two sons.

Is the government currently doing anything

\*Government thinks the Acholi are useless

\*People within the government are not one, so how can they encourage unity?

<p>to make Uganda one? It is actually not much what is being done. From what I know there is a lot of loggerheads between the different politicians. Like here in Gulu there are tension between different heads of institution like the LC-5 and the RDC and the mayors. Right now as we speak the Mayor I think he is in jail. Yesterday he was arrested. So I don't know whether there is peace or not. There is tension. Tensions reduces the possibility of unity.</p> <p>How do you think that Uganda could be more unified? According to me for Uganda to be united the present leaders should first be expelled. For me the biggest people who are causing problem are Museveni and Kony. If they could be deleted that would be a way out.</p> <p>How do you think Museveni will be deleted? If people are united he can be removed.</p> <p>Do you think he can be elected out of office? If people could be united through election like 2011 coming, then he can be voted out of power. But what I know is that Museveni will use money. He will give money who are in charge of the ballot and they will put in votes. I know that anyone given money can do anything. Even if he (Joseph) gives me (David) 76 million I (David) can kill you (Hannah).</p> <p>Who are you going to vote for? I will not vote for Museveni but if some competent leader comes up I will vote for that person.</p> <p>Would you vote for Chairman Mao? I cannot even vote for Mao because Mao is the nephew of Museveni.</p> <p>Really, I did not know that. I thought Mao was Acholi The mother seems to come from the West.</p>	<p>*no unity while the current leaders are still in power and while Kony is still in the bush</p> <p>*corruption</p> <p>*will not be voting for museveni</p> <p>*mao is tied to Museveni</p>
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Oh, his mother is Banyankole?  
When he is in power he will turn back to the other side

What about Besiggye?  
he has been defeated now several times.  
There is no need to vote for him.

Would you vote for someone else who is Banyankole?  
If it a different Munyankole I can vote for them.

So ethnicity won't stop you from voting?  
According to me the tribes will not change their votes so long as the person is competent. Like people from here they voted all for Besiggye. For which according to them they think Besiggye should have been president but what Museveni did from underneath there is now what nobody knows.

So seeing how the last elections went, do you think it really is possible for the votes to get Museveni out of power or must there be something else done?

The normal thing that should have been. He should have been voted out through casting of votes, but the other possibility is war. But now we have seen that war is not good. that is not a good option

You mentioned that other person that needed to be deleted in Kony. How will he be deleted?

According to me, Kony was no longer here. It was Museveni who went out to look for him again where he was hiding. So according to him, Kony was now not there.

So is there peace in Northern Uganda?  
There is peace. But now the biggest problem is theft and robbery.

Do you feel more a part of Uganda now that the war is over?

Now there is not much problem but the problem we have no, because of staying for

\*Besigye won the election....corruption

over 20 years in the camp people have become lazy. They are not now hardworking. The children they cannot dig. People are used to getting free food from where they lived.

How would you fix that problem?  
What could be done is now when there is total peace and people have gone back to their original home, all these youth who are jobless and roaming in the town they should be arrested and taken back to the fields to work. If that is not done they will keep on causing problems

Do you think the government should be the one to arrest them and send them to the fields?

When people are now in their original homes and they are forced to stay there they will see that they need somethings so they will go and work in the fields themselves, but if they stay to come back in the camps and move around and still provide food in the camp who can still take that approach.

Do you think that Museveni should have forced people into the camps?

It was Museveni who forced people into camps. Like in Anaka, people were forced. They would send some very big loaders and everyone was supposed to go to the camp. They say if you are remaining here you are the one feeding the rebels. people are forced to go to the camps.

Why did Museveni force them into camps?  
I remember when I was in the village. When the rebels would come they would find people in their homes they would just pass. They don't do any harm, but now when Museveni came he was the one forcing people to go to the camps. But the rebels would just move freely. For example, Museveni used the Karamajong to come and get cattle from the Acholi people. And yet he was the one who disguised his soldiers like the Karamajong to come and get the cattle.

\*The only community member who has mentioned that Museveni was the one to force people into camps (he was alive and has knowledge of that time)

\*divide and conquer

\*government troops started the violence. without the government there would have been peace

Forcing people to the camp.

Had the government not come, would the rebels have caused less harm?

When the government troops are not there, when they want something to eat they will just pick it and move on. For example, at Latoro. The people there live with no problems when the rebels come they just pass on they don't disturb the population.

So before the UPDF came, the rebels were not killing and abducting?

Before the government troops came to disturb the rebels the rebels were not doing bad things to the people but when the government troops came, the rebels began to also havoc.

Do you think that the government is worse than the LRA?

They are all the same

Do you think that the government is the source of problems in Northern Uganda?

Yes. It is difficult to tell because the whole thing originated between the two. Even these rebels they were first from the government. They were those who were running away during the takeover. So now when the government came to follow them that is where now the problems started.

Do you think that there are problems like this in the rest of Uganda?

It also there like in Teso.

Why do you think there are problems in those specific regions?

Because they don't like Museveni

Does Museveni cause problems for those who don't support him?

It is because there is disagreement between what Museveni wants and what the people are doing or between what the people want and what Museveni is doing.

\*rebels came from the government (Obote II)

\*regions that don't like Museveni are the ones that have problems

<p>Have you ever thought that Acholiland should be its own country? I do not think. We should be one.</p> <p>Why is it important to be one? Because the country is one like in America. They are all under one leadership. If we are to stay on our own how are we to get support from other places. But our land is very rich we can grow our own food.</p>	
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A.8  
Patrick  
Social Worker  
Age: 44  
Date: 24/4

<p>What does it mean to be Ugandan? It is a privilege that I am a Ugandan. When I think of being a Ugandan, I am already approaching my 44 years. I have seen all of the good and the bad days of Uganda. I was born some 43 and something years ago when Uganda had just got independence. So I lived those kind of colonial handovers. I lived during the era and I saw them also. I lived through the troubles and histories of Uganda through the good and bad of Uganda and also through the troubling periods that Uganda has had. So I had also the opportunity to experience physically when I was living through this and when I compare the Uganda then and the Uganda now, I can get a very clear distinction and clear differences. One such differences is that in the past, that is during Obote I and Amin, everything that was done here in Uganda was done in a way to unify the whole country like that. If you take for example, education, although I am a person from here I did not study my secondary education from here. I studied from Lira, one of the best schools in Uganda. So when I saw how we were relating with the students there, like right now always I tell people that I come Lira. That I am a Lango from Ikyo. Also I tell people that our place is Mbara, you know it is very difficult for them to understand now, but simply because that time you know we had students coming from there so we developed that kind of friendship. You would go and visit them there they would also come and visit us here. Which is somehow not the case now. So I would say, in brief I would describe Uganda. If I think of Uganda, I would say that it is a very nice geographical expression, but to translate it to our life is not so much there because there is so much tribal sentiment with the people. We still identify ourself so much with our tribe. People want to make their tribes to be supreme above the other one. There is that kind of downlooking at other tribes. That seems to be a little bit of problem to me. If you look at also the service provisions by the</p>	<p>*talks about the changes Uganda has undergone since independence</p> <p>*Obote I and Amin were regimes of unity?</p> <p>*under their regimes one did not study from their own area increasing relations outside of particular regions</p> <p>*feels more included in Uganda as a whole because of this</p> <p>*people put tribe first</p>
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<p>government. The colonial government did so much to develop southern Uganda, but in term of what could be done in Northern Uganda, I think Northern Uganda was preserved by the colonial powers to be like a pool of labor. Labor maybe in sugar cane plantations, factories, and also in the army. So when you look and compare in terms with so much what the they wanted to build the capacities of the Southerners to become administrators like that. I think the whole problem could stem. <b>So there is not so much feeling about being Ugandan because I don't so much understand what it is.</b> There is nothing which can keep us together. Our political system also is not put to a real test. When I was also in Kenya I know in Kenya for you to be the president you must pass the baptism of fire. Their country is divided into some regions and you are to pass election in at least some, I think, 5 of 8 of the locations. Which here is not the case. Here, even two regions refuse to vote for you and you boast that you are still the president. So you ignore the thinking of these other people. So it is like the winner takes it all. Which is actually not a very good thing. For me I see politically we are not yet getting matured. In terms of provision a lot can still be done to bring our country to a uniform setting like that. <b>Another thing that we see happening negatively is only a reaction and a feeling that for the last 20 years when we hear people talk, "O Uganda is a peaceful country. Uganda is developing!" And I have been moving around, I lived in western, central, and southern Uganda. When you see all of the things that would make you proud to be Ugandan and when they talk about Uganda as a developing country it is peaceful and yet for over 20 years here in the north the people have not been peaceful. So, it forces me to think that maybe I am not part of Uganda, because if they are talking about being peaceful when we are not peaceful it is only 2 years ago that thing changed. And somehow I don't know if we are in a peaceful moment or in a transitional period between peace and chaos. I very much don't understand. Also if you have been privileged to be moving not only within Uganda or within East Africa. I have also been out. If you see the level of provision and services that are provided by the national government, the effort that they make to unify the people...to make the people feel like one. Like when you talk about Italy, I have been to Italy and when you know you feel proud of being Italian. First of all, they <b>speak the same language</b>, which is not the case here with us. We have a lot of small tribal languages here that are so dear to us. As if we are not aware. <b>Everything is zeroed in around the supremacy of everybody...there language their culture.</b> It is a good thing, nations develop out of their culture and all that, but if you go to the south there. Even if they know that you don't understand their language they would wish you to speak their language. So there is that kind now. Now there is the national television. It is for all of us here in Uganda, now you begin to speak in Luganda and you think</b></p>	<p>*N/S divide as a remnant of colonization</p> <p>*current electoral policies make it so that the candidates do not have to address region specific issues</p>
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you are communicating to me, and yet you are very aware that I don't understand Luganda. Now that one becomes a problem. Generally, that is what I can say. **A lot still needs to be done to make Uganda one in terms of the language spoken, in terms of economic livelihood of the people, in terms of social relations that can be bridged maybe by politics or by faith.**

What do you think needs to be changed? What new policies would you instate?

The most important thing that can be changed very quickly and if I had the power to change it today is about the government system, which at the moment we are under decentralization. And always I talk about our Lacor environment here. **Decentralization means that everything for that very particular community must come from them, so looking at our current economic situation, if a child is born in our Lacor environment here where we have kindergarten up through some tertiary institutions around here a person can end up being here, growing up here, remaining here. Because you start kindergarten, you go to primary here, you go to secondary here, after finishing your education you start working here and you retire from here. It blocks you and that is what is keeping us away from other Ugandans because you are to follow your own area so much like that.** Like this one here can run into some negative forces who can begin to advance it for some other ends. So I would advocate for a change away from minute decentralization to a little bit more engulfing federal arrangement where now regions begin to feel the heat of one another like that. Because it is now families feeling the heat of the next family member. Yet we do not only belong there like that. This is one other thing that I feel should actually be changed.

Another thing that I feel should actually be changed is the economic policies. As of now Uganda is entering into another small trend of colonization called investment. If your region is not attractive in terms of things that could help to put up basic production activities like that, like here we have the land, but we don't have things to support our production like electricity. Look at our road structures around, this is always when I laugh. Whenever I travel around, I laugh. I have traveled extensively in Uganda, very extensively and I know a driving force in industry is something to do not only with the raw materials. It is also about electricity the power. It also about road network. Look at our railroad line and it doesn't work. This one here was designed to help transport cotton or those things. Look at our roads, you move into the villages and there are some that are not reachable because the bridges are not there. We talk of Uganda and we know of Uganda a geographical expression. A government and a people who do not think of those things being necessary. We need the roads. A system should be put into place to make sure that our government are accountable and that they take

\*Negative example of decentralization

\*Investment a new phase of colonization

\*lack of infrastructure in the North keeps them from being competitive in investment



<p>full charge of a lot of things. Like services and all that. I don't know how they always prioritize their budget and all of that, I know that we need security and it is not only Uganda, but probably the world over that half the budget goes to defense but in other countries when it goes to defense it is not about corrupting the money. It is about what defense may be in term of their own research and in terms of their own inventions, in terms of their own undertaking which is pro-life and not so much protecting an individual like that. For our case here so much goes to defense, neglecting a lot of other sides. <b>Just as we need security, we don't live on security alone.</b> We need a lot of those other things. So like if you go to Gulu Town it is only the road to Kampala which is tarmaced. If you want to see tarmac in Gulu region you come to Gulu from Kampala and take the road to Kitgum. Those are the roads. And if you look at the bridges then you ask yourself who is responsible for this? Policies could be made that government becomes <b>responsible and accountable.</b> I think that would help.</p>	<p>*defense budget about corruption</p>
<p>Do you think there are any specific reasons that the North has less infrastructure than the rest of the country?</p>	<p>*underdeveloped as a remnant of colonization</p>
<p>This is only an inheritance from the colonial eras. The colonial government had its headquarters and everything so much down there in the south. So they looked at the north as reserves for labor and things like that. Also it was so far. I know they did a lot of good things like that bridge that connects the north to the south. That is a very wonderful work. I know they tried a lot things, but also you know politics. Our politics is about like you are a butcher and you are just there selling, maybe cow carcass and so you cut and decide to place it how you want. <b>So that is why maybe political leaders should take responsibility and begin the value of being Ugandan must start with them. and so that they move outside their own tribal domain and tribal cells...prisons.</b> They move outside of that. Everybody thinks about what they want to do in terms of what region they come from, which seems not to be good and if things would change in that way it would be ok. Right now when they talk the mouth is saying one thing and the head is thinking a different thing and the hand is doing a different thing which is a little bit not ok which is a little bit not ok. I know maybe it is not their design but somehow there is some driving force and that driving force is something called. <b>Uganda is not yet a nation it is yet a tribal set up. If it were to be a nation the driving force would be to have everything equal like that and not about the area that you come from.</b></p>	<p>*north as labor reserves, south as administrators</p> <p>*progress is regional</p>
<p>Do you think that it is possible for Uganda to become a nation? Through some federal arrangement. Not through decentralization, but through some federal arrangement like that whereby maybe fostering unity at a little bigger scale, maybe some clear distinct</p>	<p>*Stronger federal government is needed for nation building</p>

cultural set up whereby people would put a lot of input, that would work. But it would take a little bit of time because we are to make sure that our children are, because education could unify the people better. Education, politics, religious or cultural practices could also add a lot of the economic activities of the people and if we zero so much on decentralization that is where the things may not be ok because I remember my father was one time talking. He fought in the King's African Rifle, he fought in the second world war. So you would tell us because there were so many of his friends coming to visit us at home and these are not people from our area, but because they worked together my uncle worked with the then EAC so one time we were surprised when we one time saw someone from Tanzania coming to visit our family because he said he was speaking kiswahili and my father was speaking Swahili but for us we don't know Swahili and so he came. Because they work there was that kind of unity and understanding and the feeling of one another. To travel all the way from Tanzania and also in politics my father was a democrat, a very serious democrat, so I remember when I was around 11, I saw somebody coming from Oima, a democrat coming from Oima, from a distance away from a different tribal background coming to greet our family. He came, he was visiting a brother in politics. That kind of bridge we bridge ourselves and up to now I know that family in Oima. I could go and stay with them and live with them and they take me as their kin, and also we feel like they should come and visit us because politics put us together. Which is actually not the case currently in Uganda. Politics are a little bit distorted, using the person and then dumping the person like that. So if oyu want to build Uganda as a nation we need to move away from decentralization approaches to a little bit more inclusive larger setting, maybe through federal arrangement like that.

Do you think the current policies in place to encourage national unity? DO they care about it at all?  
 Politics is about playing a smart card. I am not a politician myself, but I am very interested in politics so I see everything they do around. One very definite thing is there is **no political party that considers the community as a whole to be important.** There is always a little bit of dividing like that. I know they would not explicitly put it as a policy of dividing the people, everybody would be talking about unifying the people. But are the practices demonstrating that you are doing that? This is where my little concern is. I know there are very good policies put in place, like we have in our national anthem. I know that Uganda is very beautiful. It is the pearl of Africa. It is the pearl because there are a lot of natural things around here. **Our air is not polluted, but our minds are very polluted so we rely on the physical things, but we need to work with the minds of people and that is where I see that not much is done towards that direction.** If we want to succeed maybe

\*here politics are discussed as unifying (before)

\*now politics have become divisive

so much needs to be done in getting the minds of the people set towards that. From their own point of view, not forcing everybody that we take them to a political school somewhere, where it appears that it is about indoctrination only....it will also not work.

Do you think that your vote counts?

That is what I earlier on talked about, if we were to be a country like Kenya where every vote and every region counts, it is not about how many votes you got, but how many regions you got. Right now they are looking at the total tally, but they are not considering. Uganda is divided into the Northern part, and then the eastern province, the central, and the western, out of that they take it even smaller. And so they physically go to count the one, one, one vote like that, they don't look at the block figures from a region. If they start to look at block figures coming from regions, maybe that is when things can change. I know that our population here in the North is thin, but what do we do? We have spoken through our vote that maybe we are not happy with this one here. So instead of respecting at our opinion and looking at the issues that we have put forward as to why we have voted like that they straight away look at maybe how many votes in one region like that. For me I would wish that leadership should be put to the test of popularity based on regions also, regions like that. That would maybe put a little bit of thinking into our politicians, "Why is that region always like this? Are they naturally stubborn, or there is some issue with them that needs some urgent attention?" Our population is thin, but we are thin for a purpose. We cannot force ourselves to be more than what we are now. Maybe also we have a lot of our children who have migrated down south and that is why their population is high. There are a lot of factories that people work in and that is why their population is high. Here we are talking about the actual issues. Development and unity must come from the regions it is not about an individual there like that. **I know when you go to Italy...every regions matters. It is not about the fact that your tribe alone numbers 7 million, because they all voted for you and now you ignore us, there is a lot of conflict around that. To get around that would help there be a long term solution for Uganda.**

Is there any politician, that more than others, would work for applying policies that are fair for all Uganda and not just their region?

I will start that this is why this is a political challenge for the parties, because if they start to think in terms of regional balancing, our older politicians seems to have lost their clear vision of what needs to be done. Maybe what needs to be done is just as the American's did theirs, using Obama as a young blood. Maybe we should begin to look at our young people. I know that they are there in various capacities. If you could begin to look at the young, I know there are

\*popularity based on region would make the government accountable to developing each region equally

\*need new politicians

very brilliant young people. I am not tribalistic myself, but there are young people here, like Mao. There some very nice young people from Eastern Uganda who are very brilliant and they have Uganda as a nation at heart. There are also very brilliant people in Western Uganda who look at the entire Uganda and are not specific about their region like that. Maybe if Ugandan electorate was to cause a change for their future I don't think people who have a very clear thinking. As someone who has been doing the same thing, **like now if you have a wife who is ever cooking and the food is ever getting burned and you think that she can change after she has been cooking burned food for the last 15 or so years. How now can she change? She know that after putting this food for three years that it will be ready, she has been doing it for over 15 years and the food has always been getting burned, how can a person change all of a sudden like that? It means changing the entire system around. To change you need to do a radical overhauling and begin to see things in a new direction.** There are very may young Ugandans and very many old Ugandans who still have that kind of vision of Uganda as put in our national Anthem. They have ideas of how to do it, but with the political structures it is difficult.

\*corruption

If you had to rank where you would put national unity in a political platform, where would you rank it?

If I look at Uganda these days the most important thing is corruption and neglect. There is nothing to make our political leadership accountable and responsible for their actions. If there were very clear things like that, just something put in papers like that. As long as corruption you cannot fight it in court. It is something so psychological to the people, it is about psychological disorientation. **And it is because there is that lack of clear thinking about Uganda that they go ahead with that.** We need to put in place a political system that is accountable and responsible. If we have a political system that is accountable they would take it upon themselves to be responsible for everything. I have never seen, here in Uganda, someone resigning. You know resignation is not part of anything to do with uganda. **That demonstrates that for them it is not about leadership, it is about ruling.** IF you see and follow everything around you know people can resign their post. There has been some issues with them and so they take responsibility for that and they resign. Here you get them putting defenses, we are not about defenses we are about taking actual responsibility and accountability. Look now, if you are corrupt, **look at the case of the Global Fund, now I never knew that we are just insensitive to our own conscious like that, it was somebody stealing billions of shillings. People are dying in your own responsibilities and you are not ashamed.** Our political system needs to have that clear responsibility. Even in the family life, parents need to be responsible and take care of their own actions. That is not here with us in

\*there is no such thing as resignation in Uganda

<p>Uganda. Like when I look at the 21 or so years of insurgency that has been here, if you look at the volume of life lost here. And always I hear in the US, there is a certain soldier who is put in prison for life because under his responsibility some Iraqis were killed, now here what is the issue? It is that the ruler takes it all. A lot of social evils have happened here in the hands of many responsible people. Now because they are the ones leading they are not accountable and they are not responsible for that. If there is going to be something that is going to make them accountable and responsible that would be ok so that we see that issues to do with accountability not in terms of declaring what you have, but accountability in your own conscious it will be ok so that people begin to relinquish the prestigious positions they have. Maybe that would signal that ok, now maybe everyone would begin to feel like now I have sinned, I was also down south there one time. Some people wanted to put a cross some grievances that they have. They were peaceful. Now you send policemen who shoots them. How would they now present the issues that are there with them. There is no liberty and no freedom of expression. We can only do that if we have in place accountable government, responsible government who value every other person, every Ugandan and he has the write to speak about whatever issue is there with any other person.</p>	<p>*no freedom of speech b/c people in power don't want to be held accountable for their actions</p>
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A.9

<p>Q:What is your name? A:Robert</p> <p>Q:How old are you? A:18</p> <p>Q:How many years were you in school? A:7 years</p> <p>Q:So you finished primary? A:I finished primary but there was no one to sponsor me for secondary</p> <p>Q:Do you have a job? A:No</p> <p>Q:How long have you lived here? A:1 year</p> <p>Q:Where did you live before that? A:I was living the barracks at a place called small gate when I had the parents, but the parents died and now I have come here.</p>	<p>Date: 21/4/2009 Translator: David Luboyo Transcribed 23/4/2009 Length with Translation: 26.37 Time: 9:52 a.m. Location: Dennis's home</p> <p>*I don't recall there being any emotion being expressed when he talk about the death of his parents</p>
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<p>Q:You live here alone? A:Yes</p> <p>Q:How do you support yourself? A:I do some work for people around here.</p> <p>Q:What languages do you speak? A:I speak better the local language, Luo.</p> <p>Q:So you speak Luo and some English? A:I can speak a bit of English also</p> <p>Q:Are you Ugandan? A:Yes</p> <p>Q:Why? A:Because my parents birthed me in Uganda here.</p> <p>Q:Is there anything else that you think makes you Ugandan? A:Yes, because I am a citizen of Uganda</p> <p>Q:Does the government owe you anything because you are Ugandan? A:No (answered immediately after only hearing the question in English, but then David translated the question in Luo). For me the most important thing that the government could have done for me was to help me continue studies. I have little education</p> <p>Q:Are you Acholi? A:Yes</p> <p>Q:Why? A:Both parents are Acholi and they gave birth to him in Acholi</p> <p>Q:Is there anything else besides that that makes you Acholi? A:I grew up in Acholi and my home is Acholi. There is no other place where I can identify myself with.</p> <p>Q:If you could only be Ugandan or Acholi</p>	<p>*Birth</p> <p>*Government owes education</p> <p>*I feel like this contradicts the answer to the previous question.</p> <p>*he seems to have much more attachment to</p>
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<p>that every Ugandan can speak?  A:For me it is a problem because I would need to start learning the language of the people if I am supposed to live there.</p> <p>Q:Do you think there should be a common language?  A:It is ok if we can have one common language so that we can understand one another.</p> <p>Q:Would you feel more a part of Uganda if you could communicate with everyone in the country?  A:It is good.</p> <p>Q:Are you proud to be Ugandan?  A:<b>For me, the pride is not there because all along I am living in problems.</b> When I am alone like I am always worried about how I can survive. I think of the parents I have lost and everything. The pride is not there. But if I was to be somebody who can access the services that I need and live a happy life I would be proud.</p> <p>Q:Are you proud to be Acholi?  A:I have pride in being Acholi because by being Acholi the Acholi are friendly people. Even if an Acholi from another place comes here, like me I came here, someone has given me a place to live here. There is that relationship where people are concerned for even his friend who is an Acholi from another place. They try to take care of that person the way that they are trying to do for him here. Even this place does not belong to my relatives but someone offered to let him live here.</p> <p>Q:Do you think that if say a Banyankole came, that he would be treated the same way you were?  A:They would treat him because the Acholi are concerned with even strangers. They take care.</p> <p>Q:If you had the power to create services to</p>	<p>for it</p> <p>*do others relate their level of pride to their circumstances?</p> <p>*the Acholi people helped him in a time of need...human contact and compassion seems to have made him more proud</p>
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make people feel more Ugandan, to make people more proud to be Ugandan, what would you do?

If I was to have the power, the first thing I am to deal with is **corruption** and then this issue of stealing, robbery, all these things. If they are not there people can go and live anywhere free. They have no fear of those kinds of things and people will be happy.

Q:Is there a lot of corruption in the government?

There is corruption. See Lacor Road, that road there was money allocated to make it well. But the money people sat on it. And then there a lot of things they send for people on the ground but they don't reach. They just end up in the hands of those who are supposed to deliver the services.

Q:So do you think that Museveni is good, but the people around him are corrupt, or is everyone corrupt?

Even there are some around him who do corruption, but even some others who are not even close to him they are also doing corruption.

Q:Do you think that Museveni wants a better life for people in Acholiland?

In most cases when the voting time is coming closer he tends to do good things, but in most cases he is more concerned with people on his side...in his area.

Q:So do you think that there are very many ethnic divisions in Uganda?

It is there (tye)

Q:Do you think that prevents Uganda from being unified?

It prevents because each ethnic group will be concerned with their own people. They will say 'the other ones are not people' they are concerned with their own people.

Q:Is there something that should be done to

\*good things done near election time

<p>make Uganda one?  A:If there could be trust among the people that would be important. If maybe you do good to somebody that person should be able to remember that so-and-so has done good to me sometime this is how I should treat him.</p> <p>Q:How do you think that trust should start?  A:If somebody can do something good, but you do not know what is in the heart. The heart could be something different. So there should be a change in the heart first and that will be the beginning of creating trust.</p> <p>Q:How would hearts change?  A:The Trust can begin when there is forgiveness when someone has done something bad there should be forgiveness but if someone has done something bad and you say I should kill this person that destroys trust. In case of something wrong talking will resolve it.</p> <p>Q:So if there is forgiveness there would be a more unified Uganda?  A:People can be united when there is forgiveness because when there is forgiveness is the most important thing.</p> <p>Q:Are there certain people you have in mind when you are thinking of forgiveness? Are there certain people you think need forgiveness? Who do you think should be forgiven?  A:Those who should be forgiven, an example is those who are in the bush, because for me my parents were killed by those in the bush. The uncle they were in one hut and they were set on fire. So they should be the first ones to be forgiven.</p> <p>Q:So they should be forgiven?  A:Yea.</p> <p>Q:Do you think that the government has stopped the LRA?  A:These people it is difficult to stop them</p>	<p>*trust is important (agrees with Paul)</p>
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because what is in their hearts nobody knows.

Q:Would you consider Northern Uganda to be in a time of peace?

A:There seems to be a sign of peace a bit, but according to me there is no peace yet because of what is happening here. Like here is corruption there is injustice so when these things are there it indicates there is still no peace.

Q:So there is corruption even in Northern Uganda?

A:It is a lot.

Q:What do you think will end corruption?

A:The government should come up with some kind of policies who deal with people who are doing corruption.

Q:Do you think that the government has the power to end corruption?

A:That if all the government officials could come together and agree on some terms and if they all agree then corruption can be stopped. If they cannot come together and discuss together and take a common trend of how to stop it they cannot stop.

Q:What do you think national unity is?

A:When there is trust than that unity can be possible. When there is no trust it cannot be possible.